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HISTORY

FROUDE'S
HISTORY OF ENGLAND
REIGN OF ELIZABETH INTRODUCTION BY W. LLEWELYN
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CONSIDER HISTORY WITH THE BEGINNINGS OF IT STRETCHING DIMLY INTO THE REMOTE TIME; EMERGING DARKLY OUT OF THE MYSTERIOUS ETERNITY: THE TRUE EPIC POEM AND UNIVERSAL DIVINE SCRIPTURE . . .

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REIGN OF ELIZABETH

CHAPTER XVII

ENGLISH FACTIONS—DIFFICULTIES IN SCOTLAND

TWICE already, during the progress of the Reformation, the advance of the new opinions had been checked by reaction. The Act of Supremacy and the dissolution of the monasteries had been followed by the fall of Cromwell, the Six Articles, and the burning of Barnes and Lambert. The anarchy, social and spiritual, which had broken loose under Edward VI., was brought to an end by the hard and heavy hand of Mary and Pole. From the moment that Elizabeth declared against the pope it was inevitable that, sooner or later, the Catholics would make a third effort to recover their ascendancy. In number they still exceeded the Reformers, although in energy and enthusiasm the Reformers had a corresponding advantage. The strength of the two parties, to outward appearance, was nearly equal, and neither one nor the other had become as yet accustomed to the practical working of the formulas of the establishment, where each might hold their own opinions under the show of uniformity. The statesman of the nineteenth century, with the conditions before him which presented themselves to the council of Elizabeth, would have left religion to the individual conscience—would have insisted only on general submission to the laws, and within that limit would have permitted Catholic and Protestant the free use of their own chapels and services. But this solution of the problem has been made possible only by a gradual change of sentiment. Before a government can act on principles of toleration, the people to be governed must have become themselves at least outwardly tolerant. The attempt was made in France without this necessary preparation, and the result was universal disorder, interminable outbursts, and civil war, and when circumstances were specially unfavourable, those monstrous massacres, which have made the reigns of Catherine de Medici and her sons so infamous in history. The English Act of Uniformity, though intolerant in appearance

and language, was adapted to protect the principles which it seemed to deny. Congregations of Ultramontanes and Genevans, if allowed each the free right of meeting, with their priests and ministers fulminating from rival pulpits, would have become organised bands of uncontrollable fanatics; the war of words would have become a war of blows, and every town in England would have been a scene of perpetual bloodshed.

A middle course was therefore chosen—a course which at the time pleased no one but the queen and the half dozen or dozen intelligent persons who surrounded her; but it was the same which her father had marked out before her, and its eventual success may be allowed to prove that it was wise.

It was neither possible, however, nor desirable to hold the balance entirely even. The new ideas were growing; the old were waning. There was no anxiety to check the first or save the second. Each was to be allowed and enabled to follow its natural tendency in peace; and thus the formulas, as has been well said, though patient of a Catholic interpretation, were not ambitious of it; the Puritans could more easily use the English liturgy than the Catholics could dispense with the mass. The Puritans complained but for the most part submitted. The Catholics, who conformed widely at first, tempted by the easy administration of the laws, fell away—especially in the northern counties—reconciled themselves to Rome, and watched and prayed either for a new sovereign, or for the interference of the great powers of Europe.

At the time at which the history has now arrived, a crisis was visibly approaching. The wisest of the Spanish statesmen had foreseen for years that unless Elizabeth could be converted a crusade against her would at last have to be undertaken. The defeat of Orange, the growing exhaustion of Condé—everywhere except on the sea—the presence of the Queen of Scots in England, and Elizabeth's evident timidity in dealing with her; the seizure of the Spanish treasure, and the discontent provoked by the suspension of trade, had created at last in the opinions of many of them the opportunity for which they had waited so long.

The philosophy of history which resolves events into the action of organic and necessary laws, conceals from us the perplexities of the living instruments by which those events were brought about. We see what actually happened; we imagine that we discern the causes which determined the effects; and, in assuming a necessary connection between them, we smile at the needless

fears, we ridicule the needless precautions of kings and ministers;
sure them as arbitrary
lse failing to acknow-
the characters which
assisted to produce those results were inevitable also. By a subtle process of intellectual injustice, we convert the after experience of facts into principles of reasoning which would have enabled us to foresee those facts; and we infer, with

there is a remedy, is to look wherever we can through the eyes of contemporaries from whom the future was concealed.

Of the prospects and position of England in the opening months of the year 1569, a remarkable sketch has been left by Sir William Cecil—drawn either for his own use, according to his habit of looking everything in the face, or that he might place distinctly before Elizabeth the dangers to which he believed that she was exposed

Except for the support of the great powers, the papacy, he said, would have either fallen or would have been reformed. France and Spain, however, in their mutual jealousies, had both supported the pope, in order to secure his friendship or to be safe from his enmity; and one or both of them would, sooner or later, assist him to recover England The queen had escaped so far, "rather by accident than by policy or strength" The death of Henry II, the civil war, the difficulties of Spain in Flanders and in the Mediterranean, had obliged both Catherine de Medici and Philip to temporise and affect a desire for her friendship. But Condé appeared at his last gasp, and, without help, would speedily fall, Alva was absolute in Flanders, and the favour shown to Mary Stuart had given renewed strength and spirits to the party opposed to the regent in Scotland At the first convenient moment either France or Spain, or both, would throw an army across the Channel An excuse, if excuse was wanted, could be found in the asylum offered by England to the Protestant refugees, and in the forced detention of the Queen of Scots Henry VIII. and Edward VI. had quarrelled with the Church of Rome But in their time there was no pretender to the crown. The Queen of Scots stood now before the world if not as legitimate sovereign of England, yet as indisputably the next in blood. She had been deposed from

her own throne for reasons which, however well understood in the beginning, yet had been rendered doubtful by the impotent results of the investigation, and she could represent herself as held a prisoner for no cause which her rival dared to avow. Her "determined Papistry" endeared her to the Catholics, and recommended her as an instrument to the foreign enemies of the queen; while anxiety for an ascertained succession, the prospect of a union of the two crowns, and natural pity for her misfortunes, made friends for her among all parties in England. "The fame of her murdering her husband would by time vanish away, or by defence would be so handled as it should be no great block in her way to achieve her purposes." On the other side, Elizabeth was without child, without husband, without ally, and almost without friends. Her subjects had, by long peace, been rendered unapt for war, and the disaffected among them "had grown bold by her soft and remiss government." "The service of God," "and the sincere profession of Christianity, were much decayed;" "and in place of it, partly Papistry, partly Paganism, and irreligion had crept in;" "baptists, deriders of religion, epicureans, and atheists were everywhere;" and "such decay of obedience in civil policy, as compared with the fearfulness and reverence in time past, would astonish any wise and considerate person." "The realm was so feeble, that it was fearful to think what would follow if the enemies were at hand to assail." "The case seemed so desperate as almost to take away all courage to seek a remedy."[1]

It is both instructive and singular to find Cecil, the firmest and bravest advocate of the Reformation, lamenting the decay of reverence and the spiritual disorder which we now see to have been its inevitable fruits. There were some features of danger in this estimate which were overrated; some sources of strength which were not appreciated. France and Spain were far from the triumph which Cecil believed them to have all but obtained. Triumph was not possible for them on the road which they had chosen. It might please Pius V. to give the blessing of the Church to Mary Stuart, and to make light of her crimes. As the Bishop of Ross justly argued, the orthodoxy of David had covered misdeeds of equal turpitude; and David for twenty centuries had been held up before the religious world as the man after God's heart. Yet men who were most opposed to the spirit of the times were changed by it in spite of themselves;

[1] Memorial on the State of the Realm, March 10, 1569: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i.

and not orthodoxy any more, but purity of hand and heart, was thenceforth to be the test of character. The English Catholics (the great bulk of them), forced as they were by circumstances to the side of Mary Stuart, yet never forgot Kirk-a-Field, as Cecil thought they would forget it. When the moment came to strike, their arms were paralysed; and even Philip II. had many scruples to swallow before he could appear in public as her champion against his sister-in-law.

Possibly, too, Cecil mistook the character of the anarchy which he deplored. He undervalued, especially, those fierce children of the sea to whom, in the end, Elizabeth was to owe her safety; and he misconstrued into lawlessness the free English energy which, in the exultation of new-found liberty, was bursting the bounds of control

Yet with these allowances there was enough in the prospect which he saw before him to justify the gravest alarm; and Cecil who, unlike his mistress, was in favour of open measures, desired to meet the Catholic powers by a combination like their own, and oppose to the papal league the firm front of a Protestant confederacy. With the knife at all their throats it was no time to stand upon "dainty" questions of the rights of subjects and sovereign; of the efficacy of the sacraments, or the operation of "*prevenient grace.*" The remedy, so far as Cecil could see a remedy, was in an alliance between England, Sweden, Denmark, the German princes, the Scotch Protestants, and the Calvinists in France and Flanders. He wished Elizabeth to declare distinctly for Condé and the Prince of Orange, and to avow before Europe that England would not look calmly on a general persecution for religion. It would be found both easier and cheaper to support the Reformers abroad while they were still in arms, than to wait to encounter the enemy single-handed after they had been destroyed With equal frankness he desired her to maintain the Earl of Murray in Scotland; to give the Queen of Scots to understand that if she did not fulfil her engagements at once and ratify the Treaty of Leith, she should

[1] Memorial of the State of the Realm, with remedies against the conspiration of the pope and the two monarchies· *Burghley Papers*, vol i. pp. 579, 583

beth's government had hitherto been carried on, and force into collision the opposite parties in the council. Except in 1562-3, when the attempt was made to recover Calais, the queen had avoided embarrassing combinations with the Protestants on the continent; and the conservative peers and country gentlemen were able to persuade themselves that they had no connection with them. The constitution of the Church of England, its apostolical government, and its formularies, which recognised a quasi real presence in the Eucharist, permitted them to believe that they were still members of the ancient corporation of Christendom; while the Calvinists were the enemies of order, civil and divine, disobedient to rulers, deriders of authority, scorners of the Blessed Sacrament. The English peers desired to see their sovereign taking her place beside her brother princes, maintaining and maintained by the old alliances, disowning and refusing all interest in the revolutionary rabble who had risen out of the dirt into rebellion. At home, too, the progress of the Reformation was in many ways unpalatable to them. The Howards, the Talbots, the Fitzalans, the Stanleys, the Percys, the Nevilles, the princely houses, who in their several counties had represented for centuries the majesty of the sovereign—whose word was law, and from whom in a continuous chain the civil order of the state descended, looked coldly on the new men who were rising by trade, who owned the lands which had been taken from the Church, who acknowledged no fealty to them or theirs. The sea rovers, with their aiders and abettors, had no place in the stately system of feudal England. The disintegration, which had alarmed even Cecil, shocked and outraged the old-fashioned nobility. Their place was gone from them. A new world was rising round them, and a new order of things, in which all objects held most sacred were being trampled in the mire.

The reception of Chatillon and the seizure of the Spanish treasure appeared to indicate that Elizabeth was yielding to the faction with whom, as they conceived, these mischiefs had originated.

On the termination of the inquiry at Hampton Court their discontent took active shape. There was no longer a probability that Elizabeth would be brought to recognise the Queen of Scots' succession; yet, in despair of finding a substitute for her, they satisfied themselves that her right must be maintained, and the question now was of the means by which it could be effected. Some of them—Lord Montague, Lord Southampton,

and others—had been in correspondence with the Spanish ambassador about it before the meeting at York; and it was by them that her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk had been first originated. But it has been seen that the Dacres succession had created a party among the Catholics opposed to Norfolk. The northern nobles, Lord Dacres himself, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Cumberland, and Lord Derby's sons if not their father, the most decidedly ultramontane among the peers, objected to the duke's elevation both on grounds of interest and from a distrust of his fitness to conduct a religious revolution. The late duchess had been a Catholic, and most of his household were Catholics, but he was himself nominally a member of the Church of England In their eyes, therefore, the proper husband for the Queen of Scots was Don John of Austria; and as Elizabeth's consent to such an alliance was not to be looked for, this section of the peers contemplated open rebellion, the queen's deposition, the restoration of the Catholic religion, and the immediate elevation of Mary Stuart to the throne. Don Guerau had communicated their views to Philip, and with the exception of the marriage with Don John, of which he said nothing, he gave a reluctant and general sanction to their enterprise.

[illegible]

Guerau from Bolton announcing that the heretics considered the King of Spain the greatest obstacle to the success of the Reformation, and that certain persons about his court had been bribed to poison him. Don Guerau sent down a servant to her to learn further particulars, but she could tell no more except vaguely that Cecil was the instigator [1] Don Guerau sent her letters to Philip, indicating his own belief that the story had no better foundation than the talk in the servants' hall at Bolton; and Philip was rather irritated at the indefiniteness of the information than alarmed at the danger After brief reflection he satisfied himself that it was mere smoke [2] and idle gossip, caught at by Mary Stuart in the hope of ingratiating herself with him [3] He admitted, however, the expediency of making use of her. The arrest of the ships and money and the imprisonment of the ambassador were outrages too flagrant to

[1] Mary Stuart to Don Guerau, December 4, 1568 *MSS Simancas*
[2] "Cosa de humo"
[3] Philip II to Don Guerau, February ult *MSS Simancas*

e passed over. If an opportunity really offered itself for over-
hrowing Elizabeth's government, he said that in the interest
of religion he was willing to sanction her deposition, and he
sent discretionary powers to the Duke of Alva to do whatever
might seem expedient. The Queen of Scots he accepted as an
unwelcome necessity. He bade Don Guerau tell her, that if
she were true to her religion he would take up her cause, but his
mind misgave him while he consented. "It would be a bad
business," he admitted, "to do anything inconsistent with the
true Catholic faith." [1]

But the northern lords and their confederates formed but
the extreme division of the great party of reaction. The
majority of the peers desired, indeed, to change the public
policy of England, to remodel the Church so as to eject the
Genevans, and to open the way for reunion with Rome, but
they did not wish for a violent revolution. They were in favour
of the Queen of Scots' succession, yet they wanted rather a
change of administration than a change of sovereign, and were
willing to leave Elizabeth in possession for her life. They would
not have disturbed her at all; they would have left the suc-
cession to nature had she consented to the Austrian marriage;
it was only when this hope failed them, and the dangers which
threatened England within and without became too manifest
to be overlooked, that their dissatisfaction changed its character
and took the form of disloyalty. Arundel and Norfolk saw as
clearly as Cecil the critical situation of the country, and they
wished to save it by returning to the old alliance with the hous
of Burgundy, by entailing the throne on Mary Stuart in despai
of any other possible settlement, and, as a necessary conse
quence, by throwing a veil over her delinquencies. To thes
schemes Cecil was the great obstacle, and they resolved to lo
no more time in removing so dangerous a counsellor fro
Elizabeth's cabinet. To them also the Spanish ambassad
was the natural ally. His house was guarded, and their acc
to his person was no longer possible; but the arrests had thro
the trading interests of half Europe into confusion; and m
chants, money dealers, and those who seemed unconnected w
politics, were admitted to see him at pleasure. Among th
as yet unsuspected, was Robert Ridolfi, a Florentine ban
who, unknown to every one, was the agent of the pop

[1] "De cualquier manera que sea, es mal caso mezclar cosa nin
que contradiga á nuestra verdadera y Catolica religion."—Philip I
Don Guerau, February 18: *MSS. Simancas.*

London. He had pushed himself into private communication with the leaders of all parties from Cecil to Leonard Dacres, and he now made himself the instrument through whom all who wished it corresponded with Don Guerau.

The foreign relations of England were becoming every hour more threatening As soon as the news of the seizure reached Spain English ships were arrested in the peninsula as they had been in Flanders. Notwithstanding the hesitation of La Mothe Fénelon Catherine de Medici followed the example, in retaliation for the countenance to Chatillon and to Condé's privateers. The vessels trading at Havre and Bordeaux were forbidden to leave the harbours, and trade with France was closed except at the few ports which were held by the Huguenots. On the side of England there was no flinching Spain and France together could not send a fleet into the Channel able to encounter Portault, Champernowne, and Hawkins; and in the value of property already seized Elizabeth had enormously the advantage. The balance in her favour was increased daily by the prizes which were brought into her ports, [1] and Alva, as his anger cooled, began to doubt the prudence of an immediate rupture. Elizabeth affected the tone of an injured person who had had a quarrel thrust upon her. After a few weeks of chafing, the duke sent over M. d'Assonleville, a member of the council of the Netherlands, to try the effect of remonstrance.

It is not pleasant to contemplate the number of lies told about this "treasure." In the face of the correspondence of Cecil with the Devonshire gentlemen, it can scarcely be pretended that Elizabeth at no time intended to appropriate the money. She may have changed her mind, compromised matters with Cecil by consenting to detain, while she intended eventually to restore it, and so have saved her conscience. So it was, however, that both Cecil and the queen insisted that the chests had been landed at the request of the Spaniards themselves, and that the thought of laying violent hands on them had never been entertained for a moment They pretended that the passage of the Channel was extremely dangerous from the pirates; the queen had accidentally discovered that the money was the property of the Italian merchants, and she had doubted whether it would

[illegible]

Ireland

ell to expose so large a sum to further risk, and whether she
nt not borrow it herself. This was all that she had thought
nd was most innocent—but whilst she was hesitating the
ke of Alva, without provocation, right, or justice, had seized
on the ships of her subjects.

If this was her position Alva had only to accept it, prove the
ht of the King of Spain in the treasure, and take the risk of
e transport upon himself. He wanted money badly, and if he
cceeded in recovering it he could exhibit Elizabeth before the
orld as having attempted an act of piracy, and as having failed
or want of courage to maintain what she had done.

D'Assonleville came over hoping so to settle it; but he found
that behind Elizabeth's words there lay a purpose, either in
herself or in her advisers, which was not to be so easily dealt with.
He could not obtain an audience of the queen; he was not
allowed to see Don Guerau, and he was detained in London from
day to day, by excuses and evasive messages, till one part of the
council or the other had prevailed, and till the queen could deter-
mine whether to relinquish her prize or hold it. Some attention
will be required to understand the intrigues on which the reader
is about to enter. He will first consider carefully the two follow-
ing letters of the Spanish ambassador.

DON GUERAU DE ESPES TO THE DUKE OF ALVA

LONDON, *February* 20.

"Cecil is still dominant, and would declare open war against
us, but for the remonstrances of others of the council. The Duke
of Norfolk and Lord Arundel, with the assistance of our common
friend Ridolfi, have contrived a means of communicating with
me in cipher. They give me to understand that I may make
myself easy about the money and the ships, which they assure
me shall be immediately restored. If they have consented
hitherto to their detention, and to Cecil's other insolences, it is
because they have so far been too weak to oppose him success-
fully: but meanwhile they have collected their friends; they
have taken measures to undeceive the people as to the real char-
acter of the seizure, and they mean to make an end of the presen
infamous government, to place the administration in the hand
of Catholics, and compel the queen to go along with them.[1]

[1] The words are so important that they must be given in the origina
"Entretanto se han proveydo de amigos y han dado á entender lo q
passa al pueblo, y piensan quitar este gobierno que ahora hay, tan maldi
y levantar otro Catolico, y hacer consentir en el á la Reyna."

Your excellency they trust will approve, and they hope this

[illegible]

a friend.

"Cecil himself meanwhile is commencing a furious persecution. The prisons are overflowing, and in Bridewell there are a hundred and fifty Spaniards, who are forced to listen to heretic sermons, and are tempted by offers of rewards to become heretics themselves They have removed the sentries under my windows; but rather because of the frost than for any better reason. My

[illegible]

because of the opportunities which it will open to him for plunder. The rest of the council are for peace.[2] The lords who are my friends tell me not to be distressed at my detention. Nothing is meant beyond preventing me from communicating with the Catholics"

So far to Alva A week later Don Guerau wrote to Philip:—

"D'Assonleville has had no audience, and while Cecil remains in power nothing will be done He and his friends desire only to feed the fire in France and the Low Countries, believing that, if they can keep that flame unextinguished, they will be left alone in their heresies They refuse to part with the money,

[illegible]

instruments of an alteration The Catholics are arming under

[1] Clinton

[2] [illegible]

North.

cover of an order from the queen for the equipment of the musters; and they, with their friends among the peers, represent the vast majority of the nation. The interruption of the trade will suffice of itself to cause a revolution. Care only is necessary that no untoward accident occurs meanwhile in Flanders; and against this the wisdom and valour of the duke will provide.

"I have learnt from the Duke of Norfolk what they mean to say to d'Assonleville. He tells me that I must not be displeased that he has consented to it; because he thus secures his uninterrupted access to the queen, and learns the secrets of the other party. They are extremely jealous and suspicious. My guard have been partially removed; but my house is watched by spies, and there are sentinels at night at the doors. It is essential that their trade with France be kept closed. Without oil and alum they cannot continue their cloth manufacture, and when work is slack, and commerce suspended, then they will fly to arms."[1]

These letters explain themselves without further comment. There were two projects on foot, to each of which the Spanish ambassador was a party; one was among the northern lords, opposed to Norfolk, for a Catholic insurrection, the overthrow of Elizabeth, and a marriage, if Philip's sanction could be obtained for it, between the Queen of Scots and Don John: a second party, headed by Norfolk himself, desired a change of government, and the arrest, and probably the death, of Cecil. The Earl of Leicester, who bore Cecil no goodwill, and who feared the consequences to himself of a return to power of the old nobility, if he had not gained their goodwill beforehand, was prepared to act with them if they appeared likely to succeed.[2] It was a

[1] Don Guerau to the Duke of Alva, February 20. Don Guerau to Philip II., February 27: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] A scene is described as having taken place at the palace, which is obviously exaggerated or distorted; but being related in almost the same language both by Don Guerau and by La Mothe Fénelon, is probably not wholly without foundation. Don Guerau says that on Sunday morning, in the middle of February, Norfolk, Leicester, Northampton, Mildmay, and Cecil were with the queen. She was talking at one end of the room with Leicester and Cecil, and was persuading the former to agree to something which Cecil had proposed. Leicester, who was violently angry, told her that her throne would never be safe till Cecil's head was off his shoulders. The queen swore she would send Leicester to the Tower, and spoke so loud that every one present heard her. Norfolk observed aside to the rest that My Lord of Leicester was in high favour so long as he echoed Mr. Secretary, but now, when he had an opinion of his own, he was to go to the Tower. "By God," he said, "it shall not be; some remedy shall be for this." "Pray God it may be so," Northampton answered. "I have ever wished it." Mildmay also said that some change was necessary; and the duke, going up to the queen, told her that he hoped when her anger was cooled, and she could reflect quietly on the condition of the realm, she would feel

conspiracy like that which had overthrown Cromwell—so nearly identical, that Cecil himself could scarcely have been unconscious of the resemblance. He had inherited Cromwell's policy, in all points except its violence. His hands were as yet pure from blood, and he had not sought those invidious personal honours which had set the blood of the old peers on fire. In all else he had trodden in the same steps, and had brought upon himself the same hatred.

But besides these two schemes, there was a third, in which the chameleon Norfolk was wearing far different colours. Like a prudent gambler, he did not risk his fortune on the success of a single speculation.

It is necessary to go a little back.

It will be remembered that the conference at York was broken up on the report reaching the queen that a marriage was talked of between Norfolk and the Queen of Scots. The duke returned to London, staggered by the sight of the letters to Bothwell, and disinclined for the adventure. He complained to Elizabeth—perhaps in good faith—of the stories which were abroad about him; "he reported matters of the Queen of Scots to think her not meet to be had by him in marriage," and protested that he had no intentions of the kind

Elizabeth, not altogether satisfied, and knowing the induce-

her own safety."

Norfolk answered boldly, "that no reason could move him to like her that had been a competitor for the crown. If her majesty herself would move him to it, he would rather be committed to the Tower, for he never meant to marry with such a person where he could not be sure of his pillow." [1]

Dépêches, vol. i

[1] Summary of matters wherewith the Duke of Norfolk has been charged: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i

The queen "did well allow his vehement disliking of that marriage." The duke asserted afterwards that at the time he meant what he said;[1] and nothing could be gathered from the part which he took at the second conference which would imply that he had allowed his mind to return to the subject. Yet it seems either that his chief objection was the infamy which would attach to the Queen of Scots by the exposure which he then believed *inevitable*; or that he had permitted himself to be talked over by Maitland.

Of all those who had been parties to the proceedings at Hampton Court, the Earl of Murray had most reason to complain. He had been induced against his will to accuse his mistress, yet she had not been condemned. He believed—and his fears were confirmed by a thousand private assurances—that she would ultimately be restored, and he and his friends, after the part which they had taken, would then be irretrievably ruined. He was told that by producing the letters he had mortally offended the Duke of Norfolk, and that, if he left London, the duke standing discontented, "he would have his throat cut before he reached Berwick." "Being," as he said, "at the uttermost point of his wit to imagine where matters would tend," he consented to a private interview with Norfolk, and met him in the park at Hampton Court.

The duke reminded him of their conversation at York, and first reproached him for want of consideration for his sister. He replied, "that so far from not loving his sister, she was the creature upon earth he loved the best. He never wished her harm; her own pressing was the occasion of that which was uttered to her infamy."

The duke then spoke of Mary Stuart's general position, of the succession to the crown, and the necessity of settling it, of the impossibility of finding any other person in whose favour it would be determined; he alluded to the union of the realms; to the quiet of Scotland—to all those subjects which had been dwelt upon again and again, and were familiar to both of them: the road to their attainment lay through the Queen of Scots' marriage with some English nobleman who would be agreeable to all parties; and the duke implied, that if he himself were again to think of it, the Queen of England would make no objection. He did not directly mention himself, but he left Murray to understand what he meant. He did not say that Elizabeth would consent; yet his words, and "the circumstances of the case, gave

[1] Trial of the Duke of Norfolk: *State Trials*, vol. i.

Murray matter enough to think that she had been foreseen in the duke's design." [1] So far as the world knew, the duke was a Protestant To Murray it could easily be represented that a marriage between him and the Queen of Scots, if sanctioned by Elizabeth, would, under the present circumstances, be the best
... had heard
John, and
ps was the
best form in which it could take effect. He told the duke that "as soon as his sister would repent of her doings, separate herself from Bothwell, and be joined with such a personage as was affectioned to the true religion, whom Scotland might trust, he would love her as well as ever he did in his life; if that person should be the Duke of Norfolk, there was none he would like better, provided the queen consented."

So they parted. The duke warned him to tell no one but Maitland what had passed; and he promised to communicate with him again when circumstances permitted. Meanwhile he sent orders to the Nortons to "stay the enterprise" at Northallerton, and to leave the earl unmolested on his way back to Scotland.[2]

After this interview, Norfolk, on the plea of sickness, was for ...

Knollys, that the queen was incapable of carrying through any bold or consistent course was shared by every one. All expected that Cecil's defiance of Spain would end in ruin if the Queen of Scots was to continue in England as a perpetual instigator to ...

that things could not safely continue as they were. If Mary Stuart were not to be disgraced, it was really necessary to marry her to some Englishman of rank whose patriotism could be relied upon; and they, too, for the same reasons which had been laid before Murray, agreed on Norfolk as the fittest person Leicester, finding, perhaps, that the Catholics looked coldly on him, with the Earl of Pembroke and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, were the

[1] Murray to Elizabeth, October 29, 1569 *MSS Scotland* Compare Trial of the Duke of Norfolk, *State Trials*, vol i

[2] Confession of the Bishop of Ross, November 6, 1571 MURDIN

leaders of this new faction. They took the Bishop of Ross into their confidence, and the bishop, after consulting Norfolk, agreed to assist. To Don Guerau Norfolk had represented himself as only anxious for the restoration of Catholicism. The conditions of the new alliance were an easier version of the terms first proposed at York as the basis of the intended compromise; and it is probable that Norfolk had been made aware of them before he spoke to Murray. All outstanding quarrels in Scotland were to be considered at an end; the abdication at Lochleven was to be cancelled; the murder forgotten, and religious rights respected on all sides. The Queen of Scots was to abandon her foreign intrigues and alliances, ratify the Treaty of Leith, and become a member of the Church of England, where she was to continue to reside. The guarantee for her good behaviour would be her marriage with Norfolk, and her own ambition and the vanity of Scotland was then to be gratified by the entailment upon her of the English crown. This arrangement, it was supposed, would satisfy the moderate of all parties in both countries, and would take from France and Spain their best pretext for invading England, and their best chance of success if they made the attempt. Elizabeth was not to be consulted till the Queen of Scots' consent had been obtained, and till every security had been provided for herself which she could possibly desire—perhaps till she could be tempted with a hope of receiving at last, as part of the same arrangement, the hand of her adored Leicester. He, at all events, was the most active in the negotiation. The Bishop of Ross suggested that Leicester should himself marry the Queen of Scots, but the earl "for many reasons considered himself unmeet for that honour." He said, "he did not suppose the duke would think of it, except it was for the benefit of the queen and the realm;" but "he considered there was no better remedy for so dangerous a woman, and it would be well to make a virtue of necessity, if the queen's majesty would allow it." Pembroke used the same language. The queen, he thought, would find herself unable to keep the Queen of Scots prisoner; "and, seeing the estate of things so greatly changed in France and Spain, and the Earl of Murray standing in so tickle terms in Scotland," he was "of opinion," and Sir Nicholas agreed with him, "that for these causes and others, with provision made, her highness and the realm would take commodity" by her marriage with the duke, if the duke himself would agree to it.

The Bishop of Ross undertook that his mistress would do any-

thing which the Queen of England and the nobility desired. The duke, "with all manner of earnestness," as if he had waited for this assurance, professed himself willing. "Although," he said, "he would prefer to remain unmarried, yet, if the Queen of Scots would accept him, he would be content to sacrifice himself" for "the welfare of his country."[1]

Richard Cavendish, a son of Lady Shrewsbury by a previous marriage, went down to the Queen of Scots on behalf of Leicester, with presents and compliments.[2] The Queen of Scots confirmed the bishop's engagements for her; and it was agreed that, when the arrangements were sufficiently advanced, Maitland should come up from Scotland, and, in the regent's name, make a formal proposal for the marriage.

All this the Duke of Norfolk concealed carefully from Don Guerau. To the ambassador he represented himself as seeking for nothing but a return to communion with Rome. He was

to see her married to Don John.[3] He was deceiving Don Guerau, and he was deceiving also Leicester and Pembroke, while the Queen of Scots and the Bishop of Ross were in return

Queen of Scots herself found means to inform Don Guerau, that

[1] Examination of the Earl of Pembroke, September 29, 1569 Examination of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, October 10, 1569 *Burghley Papers*, vol 1 Confession of the Duke of Norfolk, November 10, 1571 *MSS.*,

f poison"—
a gold box,"
—Norfolk's

lthough her position obliged her to temporise and seem to
cquiesce in the proposals which were made to her, yet in
eligion and in everything else she was in reality at Philip's dis-
osition; Philip's pleasure should be hers; and, were she at
iberty, she would not marry the Duke of Norfolk, but would
place herself and her son under Philip's protection.[1]

Meanwhile, although near the surface the wind was moving
in these uncertain eddies, the upper current of events and actions
was rolling stormily onwards. The injury to English trade was
less absolute than Don Guerau expected. An eventual rupture
with Spain had been foreseen and prepared for. Sir Henry
Killigrew during the past year had been negotiating fresh open-
ings in the ports of the Baltic, and Hamburgh was willing to take
the place of Antwerp as the mart from which English goods
could be carried into Germany. The merchant adventurers had
pushed their way to Moscow and even to Persia. The western
mariners, who preferred Turk to Catholic, and on the whole re-
garded him as a better Christian, were trading "up the Straits"
with Constantinople and Alexandria. Rochelle could supply
the best wines and fruits of France; Rochelle privateers inter-
cepted the vessels which sailed from the Catholic harbours, and
their cargoes lay ready piled for export in the Huguenot store-
houses. The passing loss would be converted to gain by
English energy and spirit, and on these Cecil, for his part, was
willing to rely. D'Assonleville received the answer at last
which Don Guerau expected. He was told that the queen
declined to negotiate with Alva. The King of Spain must send
a commission directly from himself, if the relations between him
and England were to be re-established. To give emphasis to
his dismissal, the ships which escorted him back to Dunkirk
under his very eyes, with ingenious insolence, cut out from
Calais roads a dozen rich Spanish merchantmen, and swep
them back into the Thames. In the Channel and out of it, i
harbour and in the open sea—wherever a vessel could be foun
with a Catholic owner, it was plundered by the English rover
Some lay in wait for such ships and galleys as contained Flemi
prisoners, whom they would set at liberty.[2] Others plung

[1] "La dicha Reyna dice que si ella estuviese en libertad ó se le di
tal socorro que confiara reducir con él su Reyno á su obediencia, que á
persona y á la de su hijo entregara en poder de V. Magd., pero que ah
será forçada seguir y tomar el tiempo como viene y toda via no se apart
jamas de la voluntad de V. Magd. assi en lo de la religion como en c
quiera otra cosa."—Don Guerau to Philip, 1569: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] "Otro siete navios Ingleses peléaron con dos navios Españoles
passage cargados de fardeles de Flandes, y el uno navio escapó destos

into the Spanish ports themselves, [illegible] vessels, crews, and cargoes which were de[illegible] them-selves to any valuables which they [illegible] the pro-cess on sea or shore.[1] The pris[illegible] on these expeditions they brought home as [illegible] country-men, caged them in the harbour [illegible] them with daily homilies from Protestant [illegible]

To the yet deeper distress of [illegible] one of the largest Spanish merchants in [illegible] by Eliza-beth's police; the furniture of [illegible] fixes, the images of the saints were [illegible] mock proces-sion through the streets, and [illegible] amidst the jests of the populace, who [illegible] them blazing, "These are the Gods of Sp[illegible] with them, and to the flames with their [illegible]

At all this work Cecil looke[illegible] and with France he followed, though less [illegible] audacious policy. The fleet which La Mothe [illegible] to be in preparation sailed under Sir William [illegible] and carried supplies to Condé Guns and [illegible] there, and as much money as Elizabeth [illegible] La Mothe waited on her to remonstrate; and [illegible] tested her innocence She spoke with the [illegible] approval of Condé, and professed to be de[illegible] of the crown But La Mothe had the [illegible] nation She had consented reluctantly; but [illegible] nevertheless The open sailing orders to W[illegible] no mention of the prince, nor any indicati[illegible] assistance but further

muerto el maje[illegible] tres quatro o mpa[illegible], y el otro navio quedó [illegible]
[illegible]

instructions had been added in a private note, which Cecil had drawn and the queen had signed.[1] Without exposing her evasion, the ambassador insisted on what was too patent to deny. A whole fleet of English rovers were sailing under Condé's flag, and selling their prizes, as they took them, in Plymouth and Dover. If she was herself innocent in these matters, she was responsible, as a sovereign, for the acts of her own officers and subjects; and, on the 8th of March, under orders from Paris, he offered her peace or war. If she chose war, it should be war open and avowed; if peace, the privateers must be called in, and the English harbours closed against the Huguenots. He allowed her fifteen days to consider her answer.[2]

Threats of this kind Cecil believed that she could safely defy. War with France would not be unpopular in England, where the Calais wound was still rankling. Scotland and the prisoner at Bolton were more inveterate difficulties. On this subject, too, at the close of the conference, La Mothe had ventured a remonstrance; but here Elizabeth was on firmer ground, and could speak with conscious integrity. "She had no cause," she said proudly, "to change her pale colour for any charge which could be brought against her for her treatment of her sister. Rather, if she was pressed, she would show matter for her justification which would crimson the cheek of the Queen of Scots."[3] The Duke of Chatelherault had come to London to watch the process. At the end of it she dismissed him with an intimation that she intended to support Murray, and she lent Murray himself three thousand pounds at his departure for Scotland, to assist him in rallying his friends. She gave him to understand, however (and it was this which betrayed him into his correspondence with Norfolk), that she could not undertake the perpetual custody of the Queen of Scots. For the example's sake, she could not recognise the right of subjects to rebel; and, whatever her faults had been, some arrangement would certainly have to be made for his sister's return. The casket letters must not be published. He must consult with his party, and send her up the conditions under which the restoration could be ventured.[4]

Meanwhile, the inflammatory letters which Mary Stuart had written to the Hamiltons, and a general knowledge of her

[1] La Mothe Fénelon au Roy, January 10 and January 24: *Dépêches*, vol. i.

[2] Ibid., March 8.

[3] Ibid., February 10.

[4] Instructions of such things as are to be done in Scotland, January 1569: *Cotton MSS.* CALIG. B. 8.

English intrigues, impressed on Elizabeth the necessity of removing her to some straiter custody. Lady Scrope, as Norfolk's sister, was a dangerous hostess. Knollys was anxious to be relieved of his charge, and Mary Stuart was transferred to Tutbury, where she was to be for the future under the care of the Earl of Shrewsbury. The temper of the English nobles obliged the queen to be more than usually circumspect in the choice of the person who was to undertake the ungracious office. The Earl of Shrewsbury was selected because he was half a Catholic, because he belonged to the party who had been much in favour of the Queen of Scots' succession, and because, therefore, her friends could feel that in his hands she was in no danger of foul play. Elizabeth, perhaps, intended to secure his loyalty by placing confidence in him. He was charged to prevent the Queen of Scots' escape, but "to treat her with the honour and reverence due to a princess of the blood royal." He was not,

him to reply to her complaints. He was desired to tell her that, if she was overloud in her outcries, "it might be an occasion that her whole cause and doings should be published to the world, and thereof would follow many things to her prejudice, which she and her friends would regret."[1] Elizabeth at the same time wrote a few lines to her, to reconcile her to her condition, and to assure her that, notwithstanding her removal from Bolton, "if no impediment was ministered by herself, she would take care of her cause;" "her disposition was still, as far as honour might bear, to do all that was possible for her restoration."[2]

At Tutbury Castle for the last winter months the Queen of Scots remained The Bishop of Ross and Lord Boyd were settled three miles off at Burton, to carry on her correspondence and to keep up her different intrigues, while Herries returned

she had written on the 30th of January to the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, telling him to watch Murray closely, to fear nothing and listen to no persuasion, and if Murray struck, to

[1] Commission to the Earl of Shrewsbury *MSS* Queen of Scots, *Rolls House*

[2] Elizabeth to the Queen of Scots, February 3 *MSS* Queen of Scots, *Rolls House*

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[2] Elizabeth to the Queen of Scots, February 3 *MSS* [illegible] *Rolls House.*

trike in return.[1] The spirit, however, on both sides proved onciliatory. Chatelherault had been frightened by Elizabeth's vords to him, and Herries was in Norfolk's secret, and was willing to acquiesce in the arrangements which the duke had talked over with the regent. On the 13th of March a partial convention met at Glasgow, where the outlines of a general settlement were proposed and agreed to. The Hamiltons undertook to submit to the regency if their forfeitures were cancelled, if they were allowed a place in the council, and if the other side would consider of measures for the return of the queen. The meeting passed off quietly, and it was arranged that the lords should reassemble in six weeks at Edinburgh. Argyle and Huntly would then be present, and the conditions could be finally determined on which Scotland was for the future to be governed.

So far things promised well, but a war with France would throw all again into confusion. It was now to be seen whether France and Spain, in resentment at their common injuries, could agree at last to attack England together; whether, if they could not move in concert, either one or the other would look on; or whether the jealousies which had held them so long apart could resist these new provocations, and continue as before to protect Elizabeth from attack. The persistence of the politi-cal traditions of the great war, long after the conditions out of which they had risen had past away, is one of the most remarkable features in the history of the sixteenth century. Having given in its ultimatum through La Mothe, the Frenc government durst not move actively till it had consulted an received the sanction of Philip. The Cardinal of Guise went t Madrid to learn his pleasure, and Philip at once recommend France to settle its difficulties at home before quarrelling wi its neighbours.[2] Philip, expecting daily a change of governme in England which would bring back into power the friends Spain, had no desire to sacrifice his own game. The conqu of Scotland and the invasion of England by the French frie

[1] Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, January 30: LABAN vol. ii.

[2] "Parece que en ninguna manera le conviene romper con los de f sino de attender al assiento de sus cosas propias, y acabar de castig deshacer sus rebeldes, llevando adelante la victoria que Dios contra le ha dado: pues esta claro que mientras estos duraren no le cumpl ninguna via tomar otras empresas fuera de su casa, ni mover los hu y zelos que de la liga que se apunta podrian nacer."—Respuesta Magestad al Cardenal de Guisa sobre las cosas de Inglaterra, ulti Abril, 1569: *MSS. Simancas.*

of Mary Stuart were more terrible to him than heresy there, or

Catherine de Medici might not have sat down patiently under the prohibition, though if she had flown in the face of it, Philip probably would have followed it up by war; but in England itself there was no internal party on which she could calculate to assist an invasion. The Catholics and the friends of Spain were those who represented the traditions of the Plantagenets; and Norfolk, while insisting to Elizabeth on the necessity of coming to terms with Philip, again professed his willingness to consent to the war with France.[1]

Amidst these uncertainties Cecil had to feel his dangerous way. Whether aware or ignorant of the conspiracy against him, he must have known that he was playing for his own life as well as for all for which he valued life. Elizabeth still allowed herself to be guided by him, and he in turn was guided chiefly by his horror of the tyranny of Alva. "The queen," wrote Don Guerau on the 28th of February, "although an able woman, is in matters of importance confused and vacillating; she has a natural inclination for heresy, and Cecil being its greatest champion, she dare not vary as yet in any point from his advice;"[2] "Cecil's single principle is detestation of the Catholic faith, and as he has never been on the Continent, he thinks that England is all the world."[3]

If England was to go to war, Cecil still preferred Spain as an enemy to France. He was determined that there should be no reconciliation, except on terms which would make the Catholics despair ever more of Philip's assistance He had brought his mistress to the edge of absolute rupture, but there she paused, "the word war was dreadful to her."[4] It meant expenses,

Dépeches, April 20

it meant loans from the Jews, it meant taxation and its consequent unpopularity. She could not bear to hear of it, and here therefore, on her weak side, Cecil's enemies had the advantage. If she desired peace it was obvious to tell her that she must take measures to preserve peace; and many a storm had Cecil to encounter as she wavered between her opposite advisers. In extremities Elizabeth did not stay to pick her words. "She cursed those who had tempted her to take the Spanish treasure: she wished the devil had flown away with them."[1] But the happy inconsistencies of her character kept her conduct firm while her speech varied. She could not bring herself to unclasp her hold on the money. She felt that, come what would, she could not afford to yield to fear, and she was proud of the wild achievements of her sailors. When Don Guerau complained of the plunder in the Channel, Cecil gave the proud answer, that the Queen of England was sovereign of the narrow seas, and he would make her rule acknowledged there. Don Guerau said, that "the sea was too fickle an element for a lady's sceptre;" but Elizabeth, however she might complain, was substantially of Cecil's opinion, and refused to interfere with him.[2]

At this crisis arrived the untimely news of the battle of Jarnac.[3] The winter had been passed in a series of desultory skirmishes, which on the whole had been favourable to the Huguenots. Condé had readvanced to the Loire. The Duc de Deux Ponts was preparing to come to his assistance out of Germany; and it seemed as if the war, especially with Elizabeth's help, might still be indefinitely prolonged, when Condé was unexpectedly forced into an action at Jarnac, between Angoulême and Cognac; and there, besides losing a battle, lost his life. In itself the defeat was of no consequence. The admiral easily rallied the Huguenot army. He kept the field, and was not obliged to retire from any important position. Condé was in himself worth but little; his place of command was better filled by the young Prince of Navarre, who succeeded to it; but, as a prince of the blood royal, he was of an importance far beyond his personal merit; and at the first news, his cause

[1] "La Reyna maldice á todos los que le habláron en el arresto del dinero, diciendo que queria que antes los hubiera llevado el Diablo, porque veé bien que estas cosas la podrian hacer caer en una guerra."—Descifrada del Italiano, March 15, *MSS. Simancas*.

[2] "Respondióme Sicel que queria hacer á la Reyna de Inglaterra Señora deste Mare con supremo dominio. Yo le dixe que era muy inconstante este elemento por querer lo prodominar la serenissima Reyna."—Don Guerau to Philip, April 23.

[3] March 13.

was supposed to have perished with him. The effect upon Elizabeth was to decide her to keep the peace with France at all events and hazards. She did not know that Philip had stood her friend so conveniently. The French refugees in London petitioned her in the name of God not to desert their [illegible] and told

[illegible] ;

she wished the government would not persecute the Hugue[illegible] ; she wished the Huguenots would be less scrupulous about attending mass; but for herself, she would meddle no more between them.

[illegible] received her advances graciously. [illegible] more [illegible] edly [illegible] owed some increase of cordiality. [illegible] she allowed her to be removed to Wingfield, a pleasant country-house belonging to Lord Shrewsbury. She wrote letters to her unnecessarily warm, to which the Queen of Scots replied in a corresponding tone. The two queens were thenceforth to live together as loving and affectionate sisters [2] It was unfortunate for them both that Elizabeth never could understand the mischief of exaggerated language, and that she was but teaching her prisoner to despise as well as distrust her. The Queen of Scots enclosed Elizabeth's letters to La Mothe Fénelon, with a few words of most expressive contempt. "The Queen of England has changed her note," she said, "because of Jarnac, although she would persuade me that Jarnac is nothing I believe this as much as I believe her fine words." [3]

The Huguenots, it was clear, were to be left to their fate. Towards Philip, however, the attitude was firm as ever, and Don Guerau began to be anxious for the promised deposition of Cecil. The lords had talked largely to him, but nothing had been done. The reputation of the English was rather as men of action than as men of words, and the ambassador accounted for their slowness by supposing that the national

[1] La Mothe Fénelon au Roy, April 12, April 20 *Dépêches*, vol i

[2] Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, April 8: Mary Stuart to Cecil, same date. Labanoff, vol. ii

[3] Mary Stuart to La Mothe Fénelon, April Ibid

character had degenerated.[1] The first step, when at length they resolved to move, was not calculated to restore his confidence. To create difficulties in the city, without which it seemed they durst not stir, Arundel and Norfolk drew up a proclamation, which they sent to Don Guerau, and desired that it might be published by Alva in the Netherlands. The purport of it was, that the arrest of the ships and merchants at Antwerp had not been made as an act of hostility against the English nation, but was aimed merely at a party in the council, who, contrary to the advice and wishes of the ancient nobility, had broken the old league between Spain and England.[2] A threat of war might conveniently be added. They recommended that the King of Spain, if their mistress wrote to him, should return no answer; and, last and most important, they suggested that the Duke of Alva should find means to intercept the great fleet which was going to Hamburgh. Half the wealth of the merchants of London would be on board, and if this could be taken, and the Hamburgh project annihilated at the same time, the citizens, already discontented, would take arms. They said that they would then place themselves at the head of the insurrection, and the queen would then be compelled to part with the detested secretary.[3] From Don Guerau the two noblemen went to La Mothe: notwithstanding Elizabeth's change of tone, they expressed a hope that France would still act with Alva—France, with whom but lately Norfolk had invited Elizabeth to go to war. They desired him to advise his government to send in a bill of injuries as large as they could possibly make it; and they suggested that some Italian troops, whom the pope had sent to France to assist in putting down the Huguenots, should be quartered in Normandy, as if for action in England.

All this was not very chivalrous. "They are the most

[1] "Pienso que aquellos Señores se hubieran declarado mas y mas presto, sino que esta nacion no tiene el corazon que antes solia."—Don Guerau to Alva, *March* 15.

[2] A *proclamation* very much to this effect was actually published by Alva. Don Guerau says distinctly that it was devised by the two English noblemen with a view to create an insurrection:—" El Duque de Norfolk y el Conde de Arundel me diéron una forma de proclamacion, que deseaban que el Duque de Alva mandase publicar; pensando con ella y con la estrecheza del trato que el pueblo se levantará y ellos podrian mudar al Gobierno."—Don Guerau to Alva, April: *MSS. Simancas.*

[3] Don Guerau never ceased to insist on the importance of catching the Hamburgh fleet. " Con solo impedir que esta flota no vaya ó sea presa los Ingleses son rendidos," he says on one occasion; and again: " Si las naves que Va. Ea. ha dado licencia que se armen estuvieron al punto de tal manera que pudiesen coger esta tan rica presa, seria conquistar esta Isla."—Don Guerau to Alva, March 20 or April 10: Ibid.

cautious people in the world," Don Guerau wrote to Alva. "They will do nothing unless we help them and show the way". Yet their scheme might be worth executing, he thought, in default of braver measures. "If your excellency's ships," he said, "can but catch this rich prize, it will be the conquest of the island."

sions of the time can suggest. Yet, if treason has a meaning—treason to the state, which is worse than treason to the person of the sovereign—these noblemen, who deliberately for their own purposes plotted the ruin of English commerce, deserved whatever penalty law or justice could demand against them. Norfolk's guilt especially was rendered deeper by the treachery with which, at the same time, he was playing with the honour of Murray and the loyalty of Pembroke. As the plot thickened the Catholics throughout England made ready for the conflict. They sent Don Guerau word, that with the first display of a Spanish flag on English soil, they would rise as a man in Philip's name, and the heretics and the pirates should meet their deserts[1]

Had Catherine de Medici cared more for the Catholic faith than she cared for France, English Protestantism would have had a fiery trial before it. But as Philip could not permit the French to invade England, so Catherine was as little able to look complacently upon a revolution in favour of Spain; and the more long-sighted of the Catholics themselves began to fear tha religion would be lost sight of in the quarrels of the two grea powers, and that England, as was said before, "would becom another Milan." A secret agent of Pope Pius in London tol La Mothe Fénelon, that if there was any difference of opinion—if there was the faintest cloud of suspicion between the courts c Paris and Madrid—it would be better for Christendom th England should be let alone, the evil of interfering would o weigh the good. Don Guerau had desired that, to increas mercantile pressure in London, the English should be from the ports of France: "I know not what to th this," La Mothe Fénelon wrote to his sovereign

[1] "Muchos Catolicos me escriben cartas ... banderas de V. Magd. en este reyno se l...

that the Duke of Alva means only to extort from England reparation for his own wrongs, and when he has implicated your majesty in the quarrel will make up his own differences with the queen and leave the storm to fall on you. If I may venture to advise, your majesty will remain on good terms with the pope and the Catholic king, but you will remain also at peace with this realm. You may tell the council here, that inasmuch as their conduct has been so outrageous both towards the Catholics and the Queen of Scots; inasmuch as they have allowed so many heretics to collect here from all parts of Europe, and have made England the focus of so many heretic conspiracies, at the request of his holiness Italian troops will be stationed in Normandy. You may say that the King of Spain has requested you to co-operate with him, and in duty to your own subjects you must protect them from the English pirates; but at the same time you will give the Duke of Alva to understand that France cannot permit England to be conquered by Spain; he may do whatever he may think necessary for the recovery of the stolen money—but you cannot allow him to make a descent upon the English coast."[1]

Philip was pouring cold water on the ambition of France, and France was dreading equally the too great success of Alva. The two governments were still far from the "accord" which Cecil feared; and if the Hamburgh trade could be carried on safely, and the Catholics at home be controlled, Elizabeth had but to manage France skilfully and she could still afford to despise the intrigues of the Spanish ambassador. Her security and her strength were better understood abroad than at home. While Cecil described himself as almost desperate, Sir Henry Killigrew wrote from Hamburgh in May in a tone of enthusiastic exultation. "I think," he said, "the queen's majesty is more feared and honoured this day, of all countries, what religion soever they be of, than any of her predecessors before her were: I

[1] "N'obmettant pour leur grandeur et reputation, de faire demander au duc d'Alva qu'est-ce qu'il pretend faire contre ceste Reyne et son pays, et la façon comme ils entendent que l'entreprinse soit limitée; en quoy pourront remonstrer que les feuz Roys n'ont jamais voulu permettre qu'on fist conqueste dans ce Royaulme; cognoissans que cela importoit á la seureté de leur, et que comme le feu Empereur fut bien en accord avec le feu Roy Françoys premier qu'il peult bien faire la guerre au Roy Henri huictiesme d'Angleterre pour le recouvrement de Boulogne sans toucher néantmoins ny descendre aulcunement en son Royaulme, que de mesme ilz trouvent bon que le duc d'Alva face tout ce qu'il pourra pour le recouvrement de ses deniers et des prinses, sans qu'il face aussi descente ny entreprinse dans ledict royaulme."—*Dépêches*, April 20, vol. i. pp. 335, 336.

beseech God her highness do hold fast, and I doubt not but to see in her days the ancient honour and fame of England and Englishmen—how blemished for a time—restored again to the glory of God."[1]

But could the Catholics be controlled—heated as they had

dangerous associates and become as loyal as he pretended to be to his mistress; it is likely—it may be called certain—that Elizabeth, in her desire for peace, would in time have given her own consent to the marriage. The French, for their honour's sake, were compelled to press for Mary Stuart's restoration—restoration in some shape and restricted by any conditions, if only they could escape the accusation of having abandoned her to her prison. Her re-establishment as Norfolk's wife and as a member of the Church of England would have given peace to Scotland, would have restored at once a good understanding between Paris and London, and have quieted the uneasiness of the mass of Elizabeth's subjects. All, however, depended on

but wept as she sate.[2] Her true mind was fastened upon

"With her authority and theirs and three-quarters of the people at her devotion," she trusted rather to have heard that they had hurled Murray out of the country.[3] She wrote herself to upbraid them, and, perplexed as they were among many councils, they submitted to be guided by her. When the second conference came off at Edinburgh, which was to have healed all

[1] Sir H. Killigrew to Cecil, Hamburgh, May 25, 1569. *MSS. Hatfield.*
[2] Shrewsbury to Cecil, April 8, April 27. *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.
[3] Mary Stuart to La Mothe Fénelon, April — and April 18. LABANOFF, vol. ii.

wounds and opened the way for Maitland's mission to Elizabeth, Chatelherault "was moved to such repentance that he exclaimed in tears he knew no authority but the queen's." Huntly and Argyle would agree to nothing; and the assembly broke up in confusion.[1] The Duke of Alva meanwhile had issued Norfolk's proclamation. A copy was sent to England, and inasmuch as Alva charged the queen with having acted against the advice of the nobility, Cecil, offering a full front to the danger, drew an answer of indignant denial, to which he announced that he would require the council to attach their signatures. A meeting was called for the purpose, at which the leaders of the conspiracy refused to be present. Norfolk was many times summoned and Arundel also, but they would not attend; and the queen at last consented, or desired, that the difficulty should be waived and the proclamation be left without reply.[2]

Taking courage from Elizabeth's hesitation, Norfolk sent word to Don Guerau that in a few days all would be over. Cecil would be deposed and the stolen property restored.[3]

After a rapid arrangement with the Bishop of Ross, and after exchanging letters with the Queen of Scots,[4] they made up their minds to do as Norfolk's grandfather had done to Thomas Cromwell. Three times they came down to the council intending to rise from it with Cecil a prisoner; but three times, as Don Guerau wrote contemptuously to Philip, "their courage failed; they went to work like Englishmen, who could not act like men of other countries; they excused themselves by saying that so many of the council had dipped their hands in Spanish plunder that they could not count upon support; but in fact they were

[1] La Mothe, May 6: *Dépêches*, vol. i.

[2] "Sicel començo responder con otro Placarte al qual habia ordenado con palabras muy arrogantes; y porque el Duque de Alva dice que estos progresos de la Reyna son contra la voluntad de la mayor parte de los Nobles, Cecil lo queria hacer firmar no solo á los del consejo pero aun á los mas principales del Reyno. El Duque de Norfolk y el Conde de Arundel nunca quisiéron ir al consejo, y les enviáron muchas embajadas los del parte de Sicel; pero al fin la Reyna ha sido contenta que no se responda al Placarte del Duque."—Don Guerau to Philip, April 23.

[3] "Dicen el Duque y el Conde que dentro de breves dias ellos harán que la Reyna haga lo que debe, y mudarán al gobierno."—*Ibid.*

[4] Don Guerau, in a history of the whole proceedings which he sent to Philip on the 15th of June, says expressly, "que lo escribian á la Reyna de Escocia." He fixes the time at which they wrote as the last week in April, and it must have been therefore to this communication that Mary Stuart alluded in a letter of the 28th of April to Argyle, urging him to consent to nothing at Edinburgh, and more distinctly in a letter of the 5th of May to Chatelherault in which she says, "Fear not upon my word. Bide constant and ye shall have that ye desire of one part or the other. Shortly ye shall hear more."—LABANOFF, vol. ii.

poor-spirited. Like Englishmen they would have things well done, but they would leave the doing of them to his majesty, without risk or trouble to themselves; and then they would give his majesty their *thanks*." [1]

They were in debt, too, all of them—Norfolk, Arundel, and Lord Lumley, another of the same set. They pretended that they were without money for so great an enterprise. They [illegible]an, and they offered [illegible] erau said that they [illegible] them; his master [illegible] an equivalent. As they would not move without it and seemed to catch at the excuse, he so far yielded at last that he procured £5000 for them; but time was wasted in the interval, and before it arrived, Cecil, with extreme address, had discovered and disconcerted the plot. He was perhaps ignorant that Norfolk had meditated anything beyond an alteration in the public policy of the country. He supposed that the duke was not wholly insincere in professing to be a Protestant. He frankly went to him, and declared that he himself had no end in view in the course which he had pursued [illegible]

[illegible] to Madrid and take powers with them to arrange the dispute as they might think best with Philip For himself he wished for nothing but some general settlement, by which Catholic and Protestant could be assured their natural liberty, and in which Scotland, France, and Flanders could be all included.

These proposals alone might not have been effectual The mission to Spain in no way met the Duke of Norfolk's wishes, indeed, after the recent fate of Count Montigny,[2] it might not [illegible] [3] [illegible] other argument, which [illegible] with debt and hungry [illegible] The great cause of the [illegible] he Court of Chancery. If Norfolk could carry his point, he would not only secure the heiresses for his sons, but the administration of the whole vast

[1] [illegible]

[illegible] lo qual estos Señores me lo hacian saber con confusion sin declararme lá del todo, y pusó el mismo inconvenientes despues, diciendoles que si iban por ventura los detendrian en España, y assi esto tanpoco hubó efecto."—Don Guerau to Philip, June 15.

property during their minority. Cecil promised the influence of the government on his side, and thus succeeded for a time in separating him from the rest of his party. The intended revolution had brought up from the country Leonard Dacres himself, Lord Montague, the Earl of Cumberland, and other Catholic knights and gentlemen. The Bishop of Ross hurried up from Wingfield, all eager to be present at the arrest of Cecil.[1] Montague and Cumberland were Dacres' brothers-in-law, and devoted to his interests. They arrived only to find a litigation in process, by which one of the few remaining noble families of the old blood was to be sacrificed to the Duke of Norfolk's covetousness, and the duke himself accepting the support of the minister whose destruction they had been invited to witness.

Violent differences among themselves, a more complete separation of the Catholics from Norfolk, and the suspension at the same time of immediate action, were the necessary consequences. The duke fell back upon Leicester and Pembroke, and the marriage with the Queen of Scots in the Protestant interest. He even ventured to mention the subject to Cecil who listened with silence, but with no positive disapproval.

Meanwhile Elizabeth, ignorant as yet that the project was revived, was only anxious to rid the kingdom and herself of her dangerous prisoner. She did not mean to sacrifice her own peace for the convenience of Scotland. Except for the promises with which she had entangled herself towards Murray, she would have extorted conditions which would have been sufficient for her own security, and have sent her back with a high hand. As time went on, and as the inconvenience of her presence became felt more sensibly, these conditions became increasingly lighter. Having resolved not to disgrace her, the queen was being driven to act towards her as if her innocence had been proved. Many papers remain in Cecil's hand indicating both his own and Elizabeth's uncertainty, and the desire of both of them to be quit of her almost on any terms. Three alternatives were offered to the Bishop of Ross at the end of April. Either the Queen of Scots might recognise the existing government in Scotland, with a security that if the prince died she *should* resume the crown; or she might reign jointly with the prince, the administration

[1] "Estos caballeros daban parte del dicho negocio á la Serenissima Reyna de Escocia y para aquellos dias que ellos habian señalado hicieron *venir aqui al Obispo* de Ross, para que se hallase en la detention de Cecil que ellos pensaban hacer. *Tambien sabian dello* Milord Montague y el Conde de Cumberland y otros *Catolicos* que para aquel effecto vinieron aqui."—Don Guerau to Philip, June 15.

remaining in the hands of Murray and the present council;

of the religion established in Scotland, "declaring the crown of Scotland as free from the foreign jurisdiction of Rome as the crown of England." If she could not herself join the Scotch

regency. The forfeitures on all sides should be declared void, and the Queen of Scots must ratify, if not the whole Treaty of Leith, yet so much of it as touched the rights of Elizabeth herself. The Scotch Parliament must undertake that the conditions should be observed, and if they were violated by Mary Stuart herself, she was to be understood to have *ipso facto* forfeited her crown.[2]

These offers were submitted to the Queen of Scots at various intervals and accompanied by language which Elizabeth would have done better to have left unspoken. "She is careful of your majesty's welfare," the Bishop of Ross told his mistress, "and nothing content of your subjects who are declined from your obedience: she says your rebels in Scotland are not worthy to live: I perceive your good sister and all the nobility here be more careful of your honour, weal, and advancement than I ever perceived them before."[3]

The difficulty was the Treaty of Leith. The ratification was the price which the Queen of Scots had all along determined to pay for the recognition of her place in the succession. The

[1] Mary Stuart had been careful to keep up the hopes of her possible conversion among those about her, although to Catholics English and

fol. 383

[2] Consideration of the matters of the Queen of Scots, May 1, 1569. In Cecil's hand *Cotton MSS.* Calig. C. i

[3] The Bishop of Ross to Mary Stuart, May 2. *MSS* Queen of [illegible]ots iii

ward at all showed the measure of her confidence. She believed Elizabeth was a fool, on whom she might play as upon an instrument.

As Elizabeth was obstinate, she thought that a sudden illness might produce an effect upon her; and writing to La Mothe Fénelon to present a sharp demand for her release, she professed to be seized with symptoms of the same disorder which had so nearly killed her at Jedburgh.[1] They were harmless, being the result merely of pills, but she had calculated justly on the alarm of the Queen of England, who dreaded nothing so much as any serious illness of her prisoner which the world would attribute to poison.[2] Cecil and Bacon did their utmost to modify their mistress's anxiety, but the stream was too strong for them. In one way or the other she was determined to wash her hands of the nuisance which was clinging to them. She told the Bishop of Ross that "she could not of her honour nor friendly and loving duty suffer the queen her good sister to perish without help:" the resignation at Lochleven had been extorted by force, and should be treated as if it had no existence. If she would not ratify the Treaty of Leith, it should not be insisted on; if Murray's regency was unpalatable to her, it might be terminated: she must promise only a general amnesty, and undertake to be guided for the future by a council of state which could be selected by a commission out of the nobility. If she preferred to remain a Catholic, she need only tolerate the reformed religion, and agree generally to such stipulations as should be considered necessary by the Queen of England and the peers "for the security of her highness's person and the weal of both realms."[3]

It appeared as if Leicester and Pembroke had been right in their fears, and as if their mistress, in her eagerness to be quit of the Queen of Scots, would set her at liberty at last without any conditions at all. With such an impression of her character they might well think that to marry Mary Stuart to some loyal English nobleman was the wisest course which could be pursued. Finding the queen in such a humour, the council held a secret meeting without her knowledge. Cecil probably was present, for the report of the proceedings is endorsed in his hand. They

[1] Mary Stuart to the Bishop of Ross and La Mothe, May 10: LABANOFF, vol. ii.

[2] "La dolencia de la Reyna de Escocia fué fingida para mover al animo de esta Reyna, y habia hecho buen efecto con ella segun el obispo me dice." —Don Guerau to Alva, June 1.

[3] Articles delivered to the Bishop of Ross at the queen majesty of England's commandment, May —, 1569: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

sent for the Bishop of Ross, and desired him to submit to the Queen of Scots the following questions:—

1. Whether she would wholly refer herself and her cause to the Queen of England?

2. Whether she would satisfy and assure the queen's majesty in all things concerning her title to the crown?

3. Whether she would cause the same religion professed in

as she would have her, and as her majesty did like thereof—

to Elizabeth. The mind by which they were composed—it was probably Cecil's own—was truer to her than her present humour allowed her to be to herself

The Queen of Scots was contemplating a future considerably

which were here made to her came from those who had been

on her throne before the marriage could take place, and any promises either to him or to others might be interpreted as having been made in confinement, and therefore as of no obligation. She might either accept Norfolk then—and she knew that he would be as clay in her hands—or she might throw herself upon Philip and take Don John, or, if Philip refused, she might tempt Catherine de Medici to give her another of her sons. The Queen of Scots never threw a chance away or refused an offered hand.

To the two first questions she replied with unreserved acquiescence.

[1] *Heads and articles of certain conferences had with some of the nobility of England, June 1569*: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

For the third she referred to her original instructions to her commissioners, which also were entirely satisfactory.

About the league she consented also. She professed herself willing to unite with England and to separate from France.

To the fifth, which concerned her marriage, she returned the following remarkable answer:—

"My fortune," she said, "has been so evil in the progress of my life, and specially in my marriages, as hardly I can be brought to have any mind to like of an husband—but rather by a simple and solitary life to give testimony by my continent behaviour to all those who might put doubt therein. The troubles passed have so weakened the state of my body, as I cannot think any certainty of my continuance; and thus neither shall I receive thereby after so many storms any felicity, nor should I leave him that I should marry in so good estate as he now is. Nevertheless, being resolved of certain doubts which occur to me from the trust I have in the queen my good sister, and her nobility's friendship towards me, as also from the goodwill I perceive my Lord of Norfolk bears towards me, hearing him so well reported abroad, I will wholly follow their counsel, not doubting but as I trust them herein, being in the greatest matter that can appertain to myself, they will have consideration of my causes as of her that wholly committeth herself into their hands. Though not to boast myself yet because they might somewhat the better think of my true meaning to the queen my good sister, as also of my good affection to those of the nobility and the realm to which I count not myself a stranger, I assure you that if either men or money to have reduced my rebels to their due obedience could have ticed me, I would have been provided of a husband ere now. But I seeking which way to please my good sister and them here, did never give ear to any such offer. Now this I make account to myself, that if I should marry with my Lord of Norfolk I am sure to lose all my friends beyond the seas, as France and Spain and all other Catholic princes. This is the greatest loss that I could lose. In recompense whereof if I do by following of her counsel take this hurt, what friendship therefore shall I win in the stead to be sure to me? If I should give my consent to my Lord of Norfolk in this behalf, I would know how my good sister's will and consent may be had to the same. Pray, my lords, to bear with me though I cast some doubt therein, considering how unwilling I have found her to have me bestowed in marriage before, as I am sure themselves know.

"I would in this cause have as much consideration of him

that should be my husband as I would have of myself. I would

nobility would deal with him, that he might not be with his sovereign princess and countrymen as my late husband the Lord Darnley was, which I to my grief did then find, and I would be sorry to enter into the alliance whereof I was well warned." [1]

The part was well played, the tone assumed throughout the answer was exactly pitched to please the council. It was graceful, dignified, self-respecting, and on the points of substantial concession left nothing to be desired The next step would naturally have been to consult Elizabeth; but there was a latent feeling among the lords that the proposal would not be welcome if it came from themselves They preferred to have it opened by

decisive judgment at Hampton Court, he would have listened to no overtures from the Duke of Norfolk at all. But seeing her highness so earnestly travelling for his sister's restoration, he could not think it profitable to lose the benevolence of such as

desired that the restoration should precede the marriage, as if to clear the Queen of Scots' reputation. Murray's caution made him prefer that she should be safely married first. According to Norfolk, the first step should be a request from Murray and his friends for his sister's release. Murray, to whom neither the marriage nor the restoration was welcome in itself, knew his sister too well to take her back till her hands were tied. His part was in every way a most difficult one; but, on the whole, he preferred to act as if these secret intrigues had no existence, and at all events, as long as he was regent of Scotland he resolved to do

[1] Answer of the Queen of Scots *MSS Rolls House*
[2] Murray to Cecil, October 29 Murray to Elizabeth, October 29. *MSS Scotland.*

his own duty there. On the failure of the conference at Edinburgh, Huntly proclaimed Mary Stuart in the north of Scotland, Lord Fleming held Dumbarton in her name, and Argyle refused to acknowledge the king's government. The regent, to secure Edinburgh, sent Chatelherault and Herries to the castle, and prepared to take the field. The rumour that the queen was coming back had been circulated everywhere with the worst effects. As a prelude to active measures he issued a proclamation containing a true account of the results of the investigation at Hampton Court. He said that he had been called before the Queen of England to answer to a charge of high treason. After diligent trial it was found and declared that he and the noblemen who had acted with him had done nothing "which did not become honest and faithful subjects of their bounden duty for the appeasing of God's wrath and for the common weal of their native country." "The charges against them had been dismissed, and his own government willed to continue." "He had been compelled to manifest and declare the truth that the king's mother had been participant in the murder of her husband." He had been challenged to prove his words before the Queen of England and her whole estate, and the accusation "was sufficiently verified, and by the queen's handwrit notoriously proven."[1]

Whatever might be Elizabeth's displeasure, Murray could not afford that the truth should be concealed. In the use of the words the "king's mother," he intimated that to him Mary Stuart was as yet no more than a private person, and with this distinct declaration he set out on his expedition against the Gordons. It was exactly at the time when Elizabeth's irritation and impetuosity, aggravated by the pretended illness of the Queen of Scots, had reached their highest point. She had already sent to him a sketch of the terms on which she considered that a restoration could be effected. The proclamation came back to her as a sort of defiance. As the regent was on his way to Aberdeen he was overtaken by a messenger whom she had despatched to tell him that she would wait no longer: she insisted upon an immediate answer, whether he would or would not receive back his sovereign on those conditions.

A demand at once so serious and so peremptory took Murray by surprise. The restoration might be necessary; but in any way it appeared undesirable to proceed with it precipitately.

[1] Copy of a proclamation set out by the Earl Murray in Scotland, May 13: *MSS. Scotland, Rolls House.*

He suspected that it was connected with the Norfolk marriage; but whether Elizabeth desired it or feared it, he could not tell. He thanked her "for having communicated so weighty a matter privately to him, rather than by open dealing to have endangered both the state and him." [1] He wrote to Cecil that he could not answer on the spot. He would make as much haste as the gravity of the matter would permit. "What was good for the Queen of England was good for Scotland; and however dangerous it might seem, he thought himself debtbound to accept it." [2] But he must consult his friends, and the queen should learn their decision on his return from the north.

The journey, so far as concerned its immediate object, was eminently successful. Huntly offered no resistance. Argyle promised to do as Huntly did. The mere display of force brought present quiet; but Elizabeth, in her existing humour, was only the more exasperated. When there was a question of receiving back a deposed sovereign, a meeting of the nobles was no unreasonable preliminary; but her impatience could ill endure even the few days' delay which it required. She wrote [illegible] wished him to think that the protracting of time to consider such weighty causes might prove so disadvantageous, that he would himself be sorry to have pretermitted the opportunity which she had offered him." [3]

In other words, notwithstanding the promises by which she had tempted Murray to produce the Queen of Scots' letters, she was positively determined to send her back again, whether her subjects desired it or consented to it, or refused to hear of it. Entirely at a loss to understand her conduct, but resolute not to yield till he saw his way, Murray wrote for information to Norfolk. The letter is lost, but Norfolk's answer survives, and is a singular tribute to the good faith which with Murray was acting and had acted throughout. The duke told him that he regarded him "not only as a faithful friend, but as a natural brother;" [illegible]

[1] Murray to Elizabeth, June 5 [illegible]
[2] Murray to Cecil Ibid
[3] Elizabeth to Murray, July [illegible]

in all doubts." As to the marriage, "he had proceeded so far in it that he could not with conscience revoke what he had done;" but it was impossible for him to go forward till Murray had removed the stumblingblocks which were an impeachment to their apparent proceedings." "That must be done first, and all the rest would then follow, to Murray's ease and comfort." "The union of the island in one kingdom in times coming, and the maintenance of God's true religion "—these were the objects to be secured, and there were many enemies, who would imperil, if they could, so great a purpose. He recommended Murray, therefore, to recall the queen immediately, and make haste to have her formally divorced from the Earl of Bothwell.[1]

How Murray might have been influenced by Norfolk's arguments had they been left to work upon him alone it is hard to say; but two fresh incidents occurred to confirm his uncertainty. One was the capture of French Paris, who was kidnapped in Denmark, brought first to Leith, and then to Aberdeen. There he had been examined by Buchanan during the northern expedition. His depositions had revived the recollection of the more atrocious features of the murder of Darnley. He mentioned circumstances which would have aggravated, had aggravation been possible, the hatefulness of Mary Stuart's treachery, and made the thought of her return more vividly intolerable. The other was a commission, which Mary Stuart had issued, for the furtherance of her suit of divorce. She had described herself in the preamble as Queen of Scotland, with all her styles and titles; and while to the English council she was undertaking to maintain the Reformed religion, while Norfolk was innocently writing to Murray of the advantages to be expected from her restoration "to the service of God," she had the imprudence to style the Catholic Archbishop of St. Andrew's the supreme ruler of the Church of Scotland.

Mary Stuart lacked the skill to subdue herself in her moments of elation, and wear her modest veil till it was time to throw it off. Maitland was seriously compromised by Paris; he was seen to have had his hand deeper than Murray knew in the tragedy of Kirk-a-Field. Confidence in him and in his scheming had become impossible; and with the darkness all around him, and with such dangerous lights at times breaking from it, the regent was proof against Norfolk's blandishments and Elizabeth's commands. He could but fall at the worst, and it was better to fall nobly at his post and in his duty to Scotland, than

[1] Norfolk to Murray, July 31: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i.

start aside into crooked ways and stultify all that he had done.

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Semple, Ruthven, and Oliphant, met him at Perth, at the end of July. He would not allow Mary Stuart to plead that he had packed his convention He invited Huntly, Athol, and Maitland, and they thought it prudent to attend. Ten earls, fifteen lords, five bishops, and commissioners of the commons from every town in Scotland, came at his summons to consider Elizabeth's demands. They decided with a preponderance of voices before which the secret dissentients were forced to be silent, that, although, if it could be done with security to themselves and to him, they were ready to receive the late queen among them as a private person, they considered her return to the throne, either alone or in conjunction with her son, as "so prejudicial to the state, and so dangerous for the unquieting of the whole isle, that they would in no wise consent to it." "The petition for the divorcement was utterly rejected" The reading

anger which she did not care to conceal. Then, as always, when she was alarmed for her own comfort, she saw in Mary Stuart an injured sovereign, and in Murray a disobedient traitor. Then, as always, she was unable to remember that the Scots were no subjects of hers. She dismissed the messenger who brought it upon the spot, bidding him go back and say to the regent, that he must consider better of his proceedings, and as he meant to have the continuance of her favour, he must satisfy her speedily in some more substantial manner. "Otherwise," she wrote to Murray herself, "you shall occasion us, without any further delay, to proceed of ourselves to make such a determination

wards yield to more conformity, it may prove too late and not recoverable by repentance." [2]

[1] Hunsdon to Cecil, August 5. *MSS Scotland.*
[2] Elizabeth to Murray, August 12 Ibid.

A few days after a report came that Murray was preparing to recover Dumbarton, and to take fresh steps to coerce the recusant borderers. Elizabeth followed up her first message by a second, "that she would not allow such doings," and unless she received some immediate satisfactory answer to her last letter, "she would be occasioned to proceed in such sort without him as percase he should find too much against him, and the fault thereof to proceed only from himself and none other."[1] She sent orders to Lord Scrope, if Murray attempted anything against the border gentlemen, to receive and protect them. In her letter she called Mary Stuart queen and the lords her subjects.[2]

A few weeks later Elizabeth found occasion to change her tone. Murray had then become again the saviour of his country, and Mary Stuart and the borderers the enemies of her and mankind. It was her misfortune that while she could hesitate indefinitely when action was immediately necessary, the "perturbations of her mind," as Knollys called them, at other times swayed her into extremes, and she allowed sudden alarms and sudden provocations to tempt her to the most ill-judged precipitancy. Her violent moods were happily of brief duration. Her present excitement arose partly from a belief that the Huguenots had been crushed at Jarnac, partly from the irritation into which she was thrown by hearing gradually of the scheme for the Norfolk marriage. The defiant attitude, however, which Coligny was still able to maintain reassured her about her danger from France. The western gentlemen, when they were forbidden to cruise any longer under the Huguenot flag, petitioned in a body for leave to serve in France under the admiral, and Lord Huntingdon asked permission to sell his estate and join the Huguenot army with 10,000 men.[3] The national enmity against France was at all times blown easily into flame, and whatever might be the feelings of the queen and the nobles, the English commons in this period of growing Puritanism identified themselves heart and soul with their struggling brothers. "The war party," La Mothe was forced to confess, "had more life and energy in them than their opponents."[4] Although there might be differences about

[1] Elizabeth to Murray, August 20: *MSS. Scotland.*
[2] Elizabeth to Scrope, August 29: *MSS. Border.*
[3] "El Conde de Huntingdon fué á pedir licencia á la Reyna para vender su estado y hacer diez mill hombres y juntarse con el Almirante."—Don Guerau to Philip: *MSS. Simancas.*
[4] "Ils ont trop plus de vivacité et d'enterprinse que les aultres."—La Mothe au Roy, June 21: *Dépêches*, vol. i.

Thirty thousand pounds were sent over to the admiral and La Mothe believed that it had been supplied by the Treasury. Elizabeth, when he complained, replied, that if it was so, her coffers must be like the widow's cruise, for no money was missing from them. He discovered that it had been raised by subscription in the western counties among the owners of the privateers,[1] who had grown rich upon their pillage.

It is easy to see how great must have been the confusion when a Protestant crusade was being encouraged by Catholics and semi-Catholics. These movements were but eddies in the main stream of tendency; but the spirit of her people restored the queen to her self-possession, while on the other great subject of her uneasiness she was now to learn that she could have done nothing more fatal to herself than act upon her threats to Murray.

In their first disgust at their apparent abandonment by Norfolk, the more earnest Catholics had attached themselves to Leonard Dacres and his friends. The duke's marriage with the Queen of Scots as concerted at present by the Protestant section of the council promised nothing to the cause of religion. It was rather likely to be accompanied with a firmer establishment of the Reformation in both countries. To this most important condition they would not by ... that the Queen of

there appeared but one road open ... to avail themselves of the

umberland, and Leicester, Leonard Dacres himself, Montague, Lumley, and many others intimated to Don Guerau that they were prepared to take arms. Lord Derby they expected would join them. Lord Shrewsbury would be with them in heart, and Lord Talbot, his eldest son, was in their confidence. They proposed to raise the whole north by a sudden simultaneous movement, set the Queen of Scots at liberty, proclaim her Queen of

[1] La Mothe au Roy, July 27 *Dépêches*, vol

England, and re-establish the Catholic religion. They would decide after their victory what to do with Elizabeth and her ministers. The more troublesome of the bishops they would send over to Flanders for Alva, to be disposed of in the Great Square at Brussels.[1] The Queen of Scots might marry whom she herself pleased or whomsoever the King of Spain might suggest.

To Mary Stuart herself such an alternative was simply delightful. She had never pretended to Don Guerau that she looked on her marriage with Norfolk with anything but distaste. Her ambition aspired to a Spanish prince at the lowest, and believing that the ambassador shared her own desire, she sent the Bishop of Ross to him to explain away her acquiescence in the propositions of the council as forced upon her by a hard necessity.[2]

The experience of English revolutions in past centuries might seem to justify the confidence of the northern earls. A coalition less powerful and without the addition of religious enthusiasm had placed Henry of Lancaster on the throne of Richard II. Edward IV., when he landed at Ravenspurg, and Elizabeth's grandfather before Bosworth field, had fainter grounds to anticipate success than the party who was now preparing to snatch England out of the hands of revolution and restore the ancient order in church and state. Don Guerau, however, imagined that for some unknown reason the English had grown fainter-hearted than their forefathers, and he believed that policy might effect more than force. He was conscious of the danger of disunion. He felt the extreme desirableness of bringing Norfolk and his father-in-law Arundel again into coalition with the more determined Catholics, and he probably knew that for many reasons—from jealousy of his brother as well as aversion to the lady herself, Philip would never consent to give Don John to Mary Stuart. The uncertainty whether Elizabeth would allow Norfolk to have her brought the fickle duke back to Don Guerau. He explained to the ambassador the project of the council, but he gave him to understand also that if the marriage could be brought about he would use whatever power he obtained by it, not in the interest of the Reformation, as he

[1] "Dicen que dos ó tres obispos que les hacen embarazo les prenderan y enviaran á Flandes al Duque de Alva."—Don Guerau to Philip, July 5: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] "En cuyo nombre me dixó el obispo que ella es muy importunada del casamiento del Duque de Norfolk, y casi necessitada á hacerlo por valerse de su ayuda y cobrar su Reyno."—Don Guerau to Alva, August —: Ibid.

had pretended to Murray, but in the interests of the Catholic Church. He desired Don Guerau to consult Philip and try to

[illegible]

their feudal command of the entire eastern counties, were the natural chiefs to whom the great English families south of the Trent all looked for leadership. Don Guerau, knowing Norfolk's temper, believed seriously that he was the most desirable husband for Mary Stuart which Spanish or Catholic interests could desire. He recommended Philip to sanction the marriage.[1] He laboured to reconcile the northern lords to the prospect of it.[2] He commended their zeal, advised them to hold themselves in

[illegible]

marriage to take place, they would obtain all that they desired without being obliged to fight for it. If she proved too wary to be caught, they could fall back upon force at the last moment, and with the added strength from the adhesion of the duke, they could make their success a certainty

It was fortunate for Elizabeth that to this conspiracy the failure of the Hamburgh expedition had not to be added. Half a year's produce of the English looms had been consigned to that one adventure, and had Alva intercepted the fleet, or had the

[illegible]

[illegible]

border.

to anticipate. They might pillage Spain with impunity and sell their wares at a profit trebled and quadrupled by the ruin in which Alva had involved the industry of the unhappy Netherlands.

The political danger Cecil thoroughly comprehended in its general bearings; though unaware of Norfolk's treachery, he understood his character too well not to suspect him. The musters were called out in the south-western and midland counties, and the officers were chosen from among those who were best affected to the queen. As to the marriage, the genuine Protestants were instinctively opposed to it. The Earl of Huntingdon held meetings at his house to concert measures to prevent an alliance which they felt would be ruinous to them. Lord Hunsdon opposed it urgently by letters.[1] Bedford and Bacon were of the same opinion; while Clinton and Sir Francis Knollys cautioned Norfolk himself against Spanish friendship. Doctor Samson, whom Don Guerau called "the most pernicious heretic in England," addressed the duke "as if he was an apostle of God," and commanded him to think no more of the Queen of Scots.

Sussex, on the other hand, was going with Pembroke and Leicester. They could not yet venture to speak to Elizabeth openly about it, but they approached the subject on many sides indirectly. They harped incessantly upon the danger of keeping the Queen of Scots in England. They told her she must either put her out of the way, which they knew she would not do,[2] or send her back to Scotland. Leicester and Norfolk played into each other's hands; one telling the queen she was nursing a serpent at her bosom—the other replying that since the serpent was indisputably heir to the crown, she could be rendered harmless only by being married to an Englishman.[3] Indisputably heir to the crown—that was the fact from which Elizabeth could not extricate herself. It would have been easy for her to have said at Hampton Court in the past winter, This woman is a murderess; I have proof against her in her own hand; I will fall

[1] "I think you are not ignorant of my opinion of that marriage. I love and honour the duke so well as I would be right sorry it should take place, for any matter or reason I can yet conclude."—Hunsdon to Cecil, August 30: *MSS. Border.*

[2] La Mothe Fénelon au Roy, July 27: *Dépêches*, vol. ii.

[3] "El Duque le respondió que á él le parecia el derecho de la Reyna de Escocia ser sin question y que tambien le pareceria conveniente que la Reyna de Escocia se casase en Inglaterra para que en esta parte se remitiria al parecer de su Magd."—Don Guerau to Philip, August 2: *MSS. Simancas.*

no fair excuse with which to protect herself, while Mary Stuart was again openly spoken of as standing next for the throne.[1] Very angrily she complained that the lords were setting up Absalom against David. She said she would marry—marry Leicester perhaps to be rid of her vexation,[2] or marry the archduke if he was still attainable. Still the stream ran so violently

bond to stand by Norfolk in carrying the resolution into effect. Leonard Dacres and Lord Northumberland had concerted a plan to carry off the Queen of Scots from Wingfield. Dacres

to ask him what he would do if Elizabeth refused to let him marry her. He said she dared not refuse, for all the peers except a very few were determined to have it so [4]

[1] "Esta Reyna entiende como todos los del Reyno vuelven los ojos á

He and his friends had delayed their formal application for Elizabeth's consent till the arrival of Maitland; but of Maitland's coming there was no longer a prospect. Maitland, after the breaking up of the Perth convention, called a meeting of Mary Stuart's supporters at Blair Athol; on his return to Edinburgh he was arrested by Murray on the charge of being an accomplice in Darnley's murder, and was shut up in the castle with Herries and Chatelherault.

The vote of council made further procrastination impossible. Elizabeth was going on progress. Before the court broke up a meeting was held in the Earl of Pembroke's rooms at Greenwich Palace, and Norfolk proposed that the whole party who were present should wait upon her in a body and make known their wishes.[1] In talking to Don Guerau the duke was "as a lion;" at the prospect of facing his mistress he became "a hare,"[2] and wished to be backed up by the presence of his friends. But the lords shared his alarms, and neither of them cared to encounter the wrath which would assuredly burst upon their heads. Leicester said, "he thought it not well to have it broken to her majesty by a number, because he knew her majesty's nature did like better to be dealt withal by one or two;" he said that he would speak to her himself if Cecil would support him; but Cecil had been absent when the vote was carried; he was not at the meeting, and no one knew what part he would take. They separated without a resolution. Norfolk was in the queen's presence afterwards, and tried to say something; but his heart or his stomach failed him; "he fell into an ague, and was fain to get him to bed without his dinner."[3] A few days after Elizabeth moved to Richmond, on her way to Hampshire. The duke when he recovered from his ague followed her, and on his way up found Leicester near Kew fishing in the river. Leicester told him that the ice was broken, and he had spoken with the queen: "some babbling women had made her highness believe that they had intended to go through the enterprise without making her majesty privy to it!" he had satisfied her that those tales were false and untrue: but what more was to be looked for he was unable to say.

Prudence as well as policy would have recommended the duke

[1] "Fearing that the fewer they were the greater should be the burden." —Confession of the Duke of Norfolk, November 10, 1571: *MSS. Queen of Scots*.

[2] "Mas liebra que leon."—*Address of the English Catholics to Philip II.: MSS. Simancas*.

[3] Confession of the Duke of Norfolk.

at once to follow up the opening. He met Cecil at the palace.

[illegible]

had heard of none.

"None!" she asked again; "you come from London, and can tell no news of a marriage?"

He was about to throw himself upon his knees and begin, when Lady Clinton came up with a basket of flowers. The northern earls and Don Guerau, and the black conspiracy behind the scenes, came back upon him in the moment of enforced reflection—he shrunk away and was silent.

The time was peculiarly favourable. Elizabeth was still in the heat of her exasperation at the proceedings of the Scots at Perth, and then, if ever, she might have been tempted to consent. Leicester felt it, and came to the rescue of his friend's timidity. "One morning" afterwards, the duke came unawares into the privy chamber; a child was playing on a lute; the queen was sitting on the door-step, with Leicester at her feet pleading the duke's cause. The queen, as he told Norfolk afterwards, was on the point of yielding. Leicester rose and went away. She called the duke into the room, and again waited for him to speak. But again he could not do it; after a few meaningless remarks he hastened out of her presence, and began to think, after all, that he would let Dacres carry off the Queen of Scots.

She was acute enough to understand his difficulty. There was some cause for his hesitation beyond what she or perhaps Leicester knew, and at dinner afterwards "her majesty gave him a nip, bidding him take heed to his pillow" [1]

Yet it seemed at this moment that whatever she suspected, or whatever obvious objection she saw to the marriage, the pressure would be too heavy for her. In extreme perplexity she went down attended by the council to Basing House, to stay with the Marquis of Winchester, and Pembroke, who was watching the fluctuations of her humour from day to day, sent word on the 3rd of September to Don Guerau that she would be obliged to

[1] Confession of the Duke of Norfolk.

consent, because there was not a person of those about her who dared to give her different advice.[1]

The situation, with the humours, passions, and purposes belonging to it and interwoven with it, is reflected in two letters from the Spanish ambassador to the Duke of Alva. The guard had been removed from Don Guerau's house, and the conspirators had now free access to him.

DON GUERAU TO THE DUKE OF ALVA

August 30.

"The Bishop of Ross came to me this morning with a letter of credit from the queen his mistress. He told me in her name that in the presence of so general a desire for her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk she was unable to refuse. The Queen of England had so far been unwilling; but in deference to the wishes of the council she had agreed that she must be married to some Englishman or other, and when this was once done she would be restored to her crown if she had not previously been invited back by her subjects. Almost all the English nobles, the bishop says, are of the same opinion. The queen has offered to call a general meeting of the peers, and take their advice upon the person to be chosen. There is an impression, however, that she is seeking delay. She is supposed to have hinted to the duke that he must not himself think of it. He has been for some days at the court expecting her to begin the subject with him, but so far she has said nothing. The Queen of Scots herself is in some fear that the Queen of England may be provoked by the favour shown her by so many of her subjects to procure some mischief to her person.[2] The duke therefore, and the confederate nobles, have determined to carry her off from the place where she is confined, and the Earl of Northumberland is to take charge of her in his own country. The whole of the north being at that earl's devotion, she will be in perfect security, and the duke and his friends meanwhile will quiet matters in Scotland, if the regent will not consent to an agreement. All the arrangements are completed, but the Queen of Scots intends to be guided in everything by the king our master and by your excellency, and she tells me that she will not conclude this marriage till it has received the approbation of his majesty. This queen set out

[1] "En esta hora entiendo del Conde de Pembroke que cree que la Reyna consentirá en el casamiento del Duque por no haber persona que le aconseje lo contrario."—Don Guerau to Alva, September 4: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] "Procuré algun daño á su persona."

yesterday for Basingstoke. If she had not either consented to the marriage or agreed to submit the question to the nobility before her departure, the duke intended to leave the court, retiring

The duke had not gone as he had threatened, but he hung about the queen like a ghost, still silent and irritating her as much as she frightened him. His spies were round her in her closet and her privy chamber—not a word dropped from her which he did not hear. Alarming movements, almost amounting to insurrections, were reported from the duke's districts in Norfolk and Suffolk: and at times in her impatience she told Cecil she would send for the Spanish ambassador, make up her quarrels with Philip, and end her troubles so.

Had she done this Philip was ready at any moment to accept her friendship, order the Catholics into quiet, and leave the Queen of Scots to her fate.

On the 6th of September Don Guerau wrote again:—

"The Bishop of Ross has been a second time with me bringing a letter from his mistress, in which she expresses her desire to be of use to his majesty and to the Catholic religion. One day it seems as if the Queen of England would allow the marriage; the next she will not hear of it. Leicester is said to take the duke's part, the duke giving him hopes that after the expected changes he will be allowed to keep his present position and even to marry the queen. Last Saturday the Queen of England was in such alarm that she told Leicester emphatically that the marriage between the duke and the Queen of Scots should not be. She said that if she consented she would be in the Tower before four months were over. Norfolk has been forbidden to leave the court, and she means to speak to him. But however it goes, as I have already told your excellency, all is arranged in the Queen of Scots' favour, and if she is once at liberty your excellency can make your game as you please with one queen or the other."[2]

[1] Don Guerau to Alva, August 30.—The ambassador enclosed a letter from the Queen of Scots to himself, in which she prayed him "de ma part de faire entendre au Roy vostre Maître mon bon frére en quel état sont mes affaires, et nommement de l'asseurer de ma constance en la religion Catholique, et que non seulement—moyennant la grâce de Dieu—je demeureray moy mesme constante, mais que j'espere de tirer telz à mon opinion, j'entens à la dicte religion Catholique, que pourryent de beaucoup servir en ses quartiers pour l'avancement d'icelle."

[2] MSS. Simancas.

"With one queen or the other." That only was wanting to complete the universal treachery. Norfolk was pretending an anxiety for the Reformation; and when he had gained the Queen of Scots he was going over to the Catholics. The Queen of Scots was making use of Norfolk; and when she had obtained her liberty by his means, she intended, if Philip would encourage her, to leave him in the mire. The astute Spaniard, when he had placed Mary Stuart in a position to be dangerous to Elizabeth, was to play whichever card promised best to his advantage. France already had its eye on her as a fit match, could she escape, for the Duke of Anjou. The Duke of Alva would have looked on complacently if it compelled Elizabeth to fall back upon his master.[1]

From the expression that if Norfolk married the Queen of Scots she would herself within four months be in the Tower, it was clear that Elizabeth guessed shrewdly at the duke's real intentions. While in the extreme of perplexity, four days after Pembroke's message to Don Guerau, she heard, by some means or other, the substance of Norfolk's conversation with Murray at Hampton Court. The duke at the close of the investigation had disclaimed to her, in the most indignant language, all intentions of forming a connection so dishonourable.[2] When she discovered that at that very moment he had been intriguing for the Queen of Scots' hand with the regent, her worst suspicions were confirmed. The duke had gone for a day or two to London to arrange matters, as was afterwards known, for the rescue of the Queen of Scots from Wingfield. She sent an order to him to come back to her immediately. He obeyed, and she spoke to him with a sharpness which convinced him at once he had nothing to hope from her. The conditions had thus arisen under which it had been agreed that the confederates were to take arms. The duke left the court without taking leave. He wrote a brief note to Cecil, in which he said he was sorry he had given offence; he trusted the queen would learn in time to distinguish her true

[1] "Es bien verdad que he descubierto que este embajador tiene intencion que si la de Escocia fuese una vez libre, procurase de casarla con el Duque de Anjou."—Don Guerau to Alva, September 4.

[2] "Why," he said, "should I seek to marry her being so wicked a woman, such a notorious adulteress and murderess? I love to sleep upon a safe pillow; and if I should go about to marry with her, knowing as I do that she pretendeth a title to the present possession of your majesty's crown, your majesty might justly charge me with seeking your own crown from your head."—Summary of matters wherewith the Duke of Norfolk has been charged: Murdin, p. 180.

friends,[1] and then galloped back to Don Guerau and the Bishop of Ross. By them the signal for the insurrection was to be sent down to the north, while the duke himself was to call into the [illegible]

[illegible]

progress and went back on the spot to Windsor. Knowing well that if a rebellion was to break out the first move would be to carry off the Queen of Scots, doubting too, and as it seemed with reason, whether at such a moment she could trust the loyalty of Shrewsbury,[2] she despatched the Earl of Huntingdon, the one nobleman who, as a competitor for the succession, Mary Stuart especially dreaded, with a commission to take charge of her. The earl made such haste that within six days of Norfolk's departure, heedless alike of her threats and her lamentations, he had his prisoner safe again at Tutbury, with half her train left behind at Wingfield, and a garrison in the castle of 500 men.[3]

Thus she was secure from any sudden enterprise; while with rapid change of note, Sir Henry Carey carried proposals down to Scotland, not any more for her restoration, but for replacing her in Murray's hands with security merely for her life.[4] The Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, Lord Lumley, and Sir N. [illegible]

[illegible]

was ascertained that Norfolk was still in London, and a pursuivant was sent to command him on his allegiance to return again to the court. Norfolk's "ague" had returned upon him. He announced from Howard House that he was confined to his bed, but that he would obey when his health would permit him. He had come up from Andover to Don Guerau full of sound and fury. A servant of Lord Northumberland was waiting to carry down the signal for the rising. Norfolk talked about despatching him; talked about the rescue of the Queen of Scots; talked while Huntingdon was in the saddle, and then found that he

[1] Norfolk to Cecil, September 15, from Andover. *Burghley Papers*, vol. i.

[2] [illegible]

[3] The Earl of Huntingdon to Elizabeth, September 21: MSS QUEEN OF SCOTS.

[4] [illegible]

let the opportunity escape. The northern messenger was
ting to be gone. The duke said that he must wait to hear
t from his friends. He must know what Montague would
; what Lord Morley would do; what many others would do
no had promised to rise at his side. With their leader in such
humour, they would sit still if they were wise. Never was
uccessful conspirator made of such stuff as Norfolk. Mary
Stuart, in spite of Huntingdon, found means to drive a spur
into his side. She sent to bid him be a man, and to have no
fears for her, for God would care for her.[1] Had Mary Stuart
been at large and in the field, there would have been a bloodier
page in the history of the English Reformation. Had Norfolk
stood out himself as Mary Stuart bade him, had he proclaimed
himself the champion of her and of the Catholic faith, the Earl of
Surrey's son, the premier nobleman of England, might have
roused out of its sleep the spirit of feudal chivalry, and Eliza-
beth would have encountered a rebellion to which the Pilgrimage
of Grace would have been child's play. But it was not in him
and it could not come out of him. He had, indeed, committed
himself to treason, for he had attempted, in concert with Don
Guerau, to send a messenger to the Duke of Alva for assistance.[2]
But here, too, the queen had been too quick for him—the ports
were closed. He could but shiver into an ague and crawl to be
till the police came to look for him.

In this condition, and unable to resolve whether to submit
to try his fortune by arms, he chose the half course which
always the more dangerous. After a hurried interview w
Don Guerau, who grew cold as he saw his feebleness, the d
sent off to Northumberland to tell him that, having missed
chance of rescuing the Queen of Scots, he would put her li
peril if he were now to rise. The insurrection, therefore,
at all hazards be postponed. Having assumed the resp
bility of preventing his friends from moving, he ought th
have taken the consequences upon himself, and to have re
to the court. But he preferred to take refuge among h
dependents. He believed that the queen would not ver
send for him among a people who would have given th
had he required them in his defence. He stole out of

[1] "La Reyna de Escocia envia á decir al Duque que haga com
y que de su vida no lleve cuenta, que Dios la guardara."—Don
Philip, September 30.

[2] "Por la parte de la dicha Reyna de Escocia y Duque qu
persona al Duque de Alva, y con estar los puertos cerrados no
possible."—Ibid.

and went down to Keninghall, and thence he wrote a letter to her as mean as it was false. "He grieved to hear that her majesty was displeased with him," he said: "He took God to witness that he had never entertained a thought against her

protest to your majesty," he dared to say; "I never dealt in the Queen of Scots' cause further than I declared, nor ever intended to deal otherwise than I might obtain your highness's favour so to do." [1]

The confidence in the duke's substantial loyalty was still almost universal.[2] Elizabeth knew too much to feel any such assurance. She was determined to get to the bottom of the mystery. She sent an express to Tutbury to say that the duke having

tainty

charge,

servants' boxes, and send all the papers that he could find to the court.[3] Mary Stuart had taken the precaution to burn her letters before she left Wingfield, Lord Shrewsbury, for his own sake perhaps, having given her the opportunity. The earl's

as usual, that she had done nothing to deserve suspicion.[4] She

[1] Norfolk to Elizabeth, September 24, from Keninghall. *Burghley Papers*, vol i

[2] On the 18th of September Hunsdon wrote to Cecil "that he was right glad her majesty did so mislike the marriage Whoever began it meant not faithfully to her majesty nor friendly to the duke It had been long

two things were necessarily required, considering the
n they had to deal with." [1]

e search of course had been vain, and so far there was
ing against Norfolk but presumption from his own conduct.
ueen's messenger followed him to Keninghall with a com-
nd that "without manner of excuse" he should return
nediately. Had he obeyed, he would have probably fared
worse than his companions in the council, and he might have
cceeded after all. "There is a great change," Don Guerau
rote. "The complaints are loud against Cecil, who has
nanœuvred with astonishing skill. I know not what will
appen. I can only say that with the party which the duke
commands in the country he can only fail through cowardice." [2]
The duke thought so too, and at Keninghall, where his ante-
rooms were thronged with knights and gentlemen, all hanging
upon his word, his courage came back to him. He refused at
first to see the messenger. He said he was too ill to leave his
house. If the queen would send a member of the council to
him, he would answer her questions where he was.

But again after a day or two his heart failed him. A message
came to him from Leicester, that he had nothing to fear from
submission. If he persisted in disobedience he would be pro-
claimed a traitor. He would then have to commit his fate to
the chances of civil war, and he persuaded himself that he would
compromise the Queen of Scots. [3] His illness had no existence
except in his alarms. The messenger had lingered waiting for
his final resolution; he withdrew his answer and made up hi
mind to return. His friends and servants, clearer-sighted tha
himself, entreated him not to leave them. They held him b
the knees, they clung to his stirrup-leathers as he mounted h
horse, crying that he was going to the scaffold. But his spir
were gone. With a handful of attendants [4] he rode back
London, and from thence he was proceeding to Windsor, w
he was met a few miles distant by an intimation that he
a prisoner and must remain in charge of Sir Henry Nevill
Mr. Wentworth's house at Burnham.

Elizabeth, who had heard of the attitude which he

[1] Huntingdon to Cecil, October 10: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i.

[2] "No se lo que sucedera. Entiendo que segun los amigos que el
tiene en el Reyno no puede perderse sino por pusillanimidad."
Guerau to Philip, September 30.

[3] "O Como dice por escusar el evidente peligro de la de Esc
esta en poder de sus enemigos."—Don Guerau to Philip, October

[4] "Dexando los pensamientos de rompimiento por ahora se
...os caballos."—Don Guerau to Philip, October 8.

assumed in Norfolk, talked of placing him on his trial for treason. But such a challenge to the peers was as yet too perilous an experiment, and Cecil's prudence interposed. He wrote rather

than the occasion required." "The case was not so terrible as her majesty would have it." "The Queen of Scots would always be a dangerous person to her, but there were degrees by which the danger might be made more or less. If she would herself marry, it would diminish; if she remained single, it would increase. If the Queen of Scots was kept a prisoner, it would diminish; if she was at liberty, it would be greater." "If the Queen of Scots was manifested to be [illegible] by law to

was passed over in silence, the scar of the wound would wear out." So much for the Queen of Scots. For the Duke of Norfolk, and for her majesty's intentions towards him, she must remember that there were as yet no proofs against him, "*and if he was tried and not convicted, it would not only save* but increase his credit." The duke's offence, so far as could be seen at present, did not "come within the compass of treason," "and better it were in the beginning to foresee the matter than to attempt it with discredit, not without opinion of evil will or malice." He sent Elizabeth a copy of the statute of Edward III. He recommended that in the inquiry into Norfolk's behaviour the word treason should not be mentioned. "Better," he said, half in irony—"better marry the duke to somebody. Provide him with a wife and his hopes of the Scotch queen will pass away."[1]

Elizabeth was but half convinced. On the 8th of October an order was made out to Sir Francis Knollys to take charge of the person of the Duke of Norfolk and conduct him to the Tower.[2] He was not prepared for so decisive measures. He

[1] Cecil to Elizabeth, October 6, 1569 Endorsed, "*My advice to her majesty in the Duke of Norfolk's case.*" *Cotton MSS* CALIG C I

[2] Commission to Sir F Knollys, October 8. *MSS. Domestic.*

had communicated since his arrest with Don Guerau, under the impression that he was too large a person to be rudely handled, and still talking of changing the government and overthrowing Cecil. He believed himself to be popular in London. He had persuaded himself that the queen could not risk the danger of sending him under a guard through the streets.

Don Guerau thought that he was mistaken. Though he regarded the heretics as children of hell, he respected their courage, nor did he expect, since the success at Hamburgh, that the city would be disturbed. The government, to incur no unnecessary risk, sent the prisoner by water from Windsor. The banks between Westminster and London Bridge were lined with crowds, who, according to La Mothe, were vociferous in their expressions of displeasure, but there was no attempt at rescue; and when the Tower gates closed behind the head of the English nobility, no party in the country felt less pity for him than those whose fine-laid schemes he had played with and ruined by his cowardice.

On the 8th of October Don Guerau wrote to Philip:—

"The Earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Derby—the whole Catholic body—are furious at the timidity which the duke has shown. The Earl of Northumberland's servant who was here a while ago about this business, has returned to me, and I have letters also in cipher from the Bishop of Ross. The sum of their message to me is this, that they will take forcible possession of the Queen of Scots. They will then make themselves masters of the northern counties, re-establish the Catholic religion, and restore to your majesty whatever prizes taken from your majesty's subjects now in the harbours on these coasts. They hope that when the Queen of Scots is free they may be supplied with a few harquebusmen from the Low Countries. I have referred their request to the Duke of Alva." [1]

[1] *MSS. Simancas.*

In August, chafed by the demands of the court of France, irritated at the ferment at the court, and at the consciousness that half her present vexations were her own work, through her refusal to marry the archduke; half regretting, now when it was too late, that she had thrown away an opportunity which would have pacified legitimate discontent,[1] she was on the point of making a victim of the Earl of Murray, breaking her solemn promise, and forcing back upon him the sovereign whom only she had induced him to accuse.

She was now frightened into a recollection of her obligations. She discovered that the matter which had been proposed by her "was very weighty," that Murray's answer "had been with great deliberation conceived, and carried with it much reason."[2] But the difficulty of the Queen of Scots' presence was none the less embarrassing. She could trust no one since the rupture in the council but Cecil and two or three more. Lord Shrewsbury was suspected for those Catholic tendencies on account of which he had been selected as the Queen of Scots' guardian; but the substitution of Huntingdon, though necessary for her immediate safety, had been received with strong expressions of displeasure by the ambassadors of the Catholic powers. She had offended a powerful English nobleman, and it was to no purpose that she pretended that her motive in making the change had been Lord Shrewsbury's ill health. The earl demanded, as a point of honour, that the prisoner should be restored to his custody;[3] and, although the danger of escape was notoriously increased, the queen could not afford to alienate a tottering loyalty, and with the advice of Huntingdon himself, she consented.[4]

was. The past reigns afforded many precedents for the treatment of pretenders to the crown. The queen "might do that which in other times kings and princes had done by justice—take the Queen of Scots' life from her;"[1] or, if this was too severe a measure, she might keep her in strait prison till her health failed and she died, as poor Catherine Grey had died. But "her majesty," who had shown no pity to the innocent wife of Lord Hertford, affected to "dread the slander to herself and the realm;" she found "her disposition was to show clemency, and she would not by imprisonment or otherwise use that avenge."

There remained therefore three possibilities: either to keep her in England as the unwilling guest of Lord Shrewsbury, prevented from escaping, but with no further restrictions upon her enjoyments and her exercise, or to let her go to France; or, finally, to send her back to Scotland as a prisoner.

land: she continued in the same mind, and no place could serve her better to prosecute still the same intentions."

queen's refusal to marry, to favour the Scottish title. The conspiracy in the council had arisen from a craving "for the certainty of some succession," and for a union of the island under one sovereign. Every person in the country, who was discontented "either from matters of religion, court neglect, or poverty, or other causes," would take the side of the Queen of Scots for the mere hope of some change. Her presence in the realm would be a perpetual temptation. Her person, except as a close prisoner, could not be effectively secured.

a refusal to part with her might be construed into an occasion of war. "Being in captivity," she would be increasingly commiserated; "her sufferings more lamented than her fault condemned." "The casualty of her death by course of nature

[1] Notes in Cecil's hand, October, 1569. *Cotton MSS. B M*

would be interpreted to the worst." The queen's own health "might be worn away with perpetual anxiety," and should she die suddenly, with the succession unprovided for, the consequences could not fail to be most dreadful.[1]

The arguments, so far, pointed to the replacing Mary Stuart in the condition from which she had escaped in her flight from Lochleven, with this difference only, that Murray and Murray's party would be required to give hostages for the security of her life, and for her safe keeping during Elizabeth's pleasure.

Yet this measure, too, was not without its objections. If Murray died or was murdered, it was uncertain whether his party would be strong enough to hold her. She might escape as she escaped before. The Catholic powers would have as many motives as ever for interference, and she herself "would be the bolder to practise being then in prison, because she would think her life in no danger through the hostages in England." There would be the same peril of her contracting a marriage abroad; while, should her own friends in Scotland gain the upper hand, she would be restored to the government; the Protestant religion would be suppressed, and the two countries relapse into their old hostility. The great point was to hold her fast, and this could be done more easily in England than in Scotland. The government of the young king could then be firmly established, and should France or Spain "attempt anything for her," while she was in the Queen of England's hands, "her majesty might justly, if she was thereto provoked, make an end of the matter by using extremity on her part."[2]

The reasoning on both sides was so evenly balanced that either Cecil's mind wavered, or else his own judgment pointed

[1] Notes in Cecil's hand, October, 1569: *Cotton MSS. B.M.*

[2] Notes in Cecil's hand, October, 1569: *Cotton MSS.* CALIG. *B.M.*

In a letter said to have been written by Leicester in 1585, there is a statement that in the autumn of 1569, in consequence of the discovery of Mary Stuart's intrigues, "the Great Seal of England was sent down and thought just and meet upon the sudden for her execution." The letter is printed by Mr. Tytler, *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 463, and the fact is by him assumed to be true. The records of this year are so complete, the changing feelings, the perplexities, the hesitations of the government are so copiously revealed in the loose notes of Cecil, that it is hard to understand how a resolution of so much magnitude could have been arrived at without some definite trace of it being discoverable. The contingency of the Queen of Scots' execution was obviously contemplated as not impossible; but in the absence of other evidence it is more likely either that Leicester, writing sixteen years after, made a mistake in the date, or that an error has crept in through transcribers. The original of the letter, I believe, is no longer extant.

one way and Elizabeth's wishes the other.[1] At last, however, a further suggestion presented itself. The root of Elizabeth's difficulties had been, first, her unnecessary interference to prevent the Scots from trying their queen for the murder, and, secondly, her want of courage in publishing the results of the [illegible]

[illegible]

if Mary Stuart was replaced in their hands, and was brought publicly to the bar in her own country.[2] It has been already mentioned that Sir H. Carey had been sent down to consult the regent. This plan it is at least likely that he was secretly instructed to propose.

Meanwhile Cecil set himself to discover whether Norfolk's conduct had further bearings than as yet he knew of. His position was critical in the extreme. Half the council—the Reactionaries, Conservatives, Moderates, Semi-Catholics, or by whatever name they may be called—were in disgrace. Leicester, then as ever useless for any honourable purpose, was a dead weight upon his hands, and he was left alone with those who along with himself were dreaded as the advocates of revolution—the lord keeper, the Earl of Bedford, Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Francis Knollys, and Sir Ralph Sadler. These half-dozen men, among whom Bedford alone possessed pretensions to high birth, had to undertake the examination of the noblemen who had so lately sat at the same table with them. The first interviews were said to have been sufficiently stormy.[3] Pembroke [illegible]

[illegible]

[1] In following Cecil's papers there is always great difficulty in distinguishing his own opinions from the queen's. Letters in his hand were often written by him merely as Elizabeth's secretary and against his own judgment. They were frequently accompanied by private communications from himself, in which he deplored resolutions which he was unable to prevent. In the present instance there are many papers all in the same hand, all written within a few days of each other, pointing to different conclusions.

[2] This was certainly thought of, although it does not appear among Cecil's notes. Sir Henry Neville writing to him on the 4th of October says: "The trial of the murder must needs be a safety unto the queen, and such a defacing unto the other as I think will pluck away that love that all your other devices will not."—*Domestic MSS. Rolls House.*

[3] "Pasaron entre ellos muchas palabras de pasion."—Don Guerau to Philip, October 8. *MSS. Simancas.*

anything from them which incriminated the Queen of Scots,[1] and Pembroke both with success and dignity defended the integrity of his own intentions.[2] But he said that he was contented to submit to the queen's pleasure, and it was not Cecil's policy to press upon him. None better understood than he how to build a bridge for men to retreat over out of a false position. The Bishop of Ross declared that "he had never dealt with any other except such as had credit with the queen."[3] Cecil, who had not yet learned the bishop's power of lying, let the answer pass. To extract truth from Leslie required sharper handling than words.

Conciliation, except with the two chief offenders, was the order of the day. Traces, though indistinct, had been found of the hand of Ridolfi. He was confined, rather as a guest than as a prisoner, in the house of Walsingham, and was desired to place in writing as much as he knew of a Catholic conspiracy. But the questions put to him were insignificant and easily evaded. His house was searched without his knowledge, but he had concealed or destroyed all his important papers; and so little suspicion had the queen of the nature of the person that she had in her hand, that when he was released from arrest, she consulted him about the Spanish quarrel, and "desired his secret opinion" as to the best means of accommodating her differences with Philip.[4]

Against Norfolk the queen was still violently angry. Although she had no proof that he had meditated treason, she felt instinctively that she could not trust him. He wrote repeatedly to her, insisting upon his loyalty, and "taking God to witness he never thought to do anything that might be disagreeable to her good pleasure:" but fine phrases of this kind had lost their power; Cecil's plan of rendering him harmless by providing him with another duchess was seriously contemplated; and it was

[1] "La mayor fuerça de la probança tiraba á culpar la de Escocia, á la qual descargáron todos como era justo."—Don Guerau to Philip, October 8: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] "In those conferences that I have been at of the Queen of Scots' marriage it is not unknown to you, my Lord of Leicester and Mr. Secretary, to whose knowledge in this behalf I appeal, with what earnestness I have always protested with my life, lands, body, and goods, the maintenance of God's true religion now established by her majesty, and the conservation of her majesty's person, quiet, estate, and dignity against all the attempts—yea, or motioners, of the contrary."—Pembroke to the Council, October, 1569.

[3] Examination of the Bishop of Ross, October 10: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i.

[4] Leicester and Cecil to Walsingham, October 7, October 19, October 23: *Domestic MSS.*

The duke's friends in the council had abandoned their project sincerely. The duke himself had no intention whatever of abandoning it. The great Catholic party was still entire. The mine which they had dug was still loaded, and the hope of foreign assistance as strong as ever. The duke still expected that he would reap the fruit of all this, and least of all would he part with his hope of Mary Stuart. But he desired to recover his liberty. Lies cost Norfolk nothing. He was ready to say whatever would answer his purpose. He feared only that if he gave the queen the promise which she demanded from him, Mary Stuart herself might take him at his word, or the Bishop of Ross perhaps, in irritation at his apostasy, might tell secrets which would be dangerous to him if revealed. He drew up therefore, in the most complete form, the required renunciation; he gave emphasis to his professions by the most elaborate asseverations of good faith; and while he sent the original of this document to Elizabeth, he forwarded a copy of it to the Bishop of Ross, desiring him to tell his mistress that he had yielded only in order to escape from the Tower, and that he had no intention of observing an engagement which had been extorted from him by violence [1]

Could Norfolk have known the supreme willingness with which Mary Stuart had been ready to throw him over, should it suit her convenience to do so, he would have been less ready to lie for her. His late imbecility had not raised him in her good opinion; but as he might still be useful, she flattered him into the continuance of his folly; and both he and she, while they besieged Elizabeth with protestations of their honesty, fed in secret upon visions of coming triumph when Alva's legions would land at Harwich or in Scotland, and every Catholic in the island would spring into the field to join them.

[1] "One great fault I committed. When I should send in my submission to her majesty, thinking that it would not long be kept close but go abroad, fearing that if it should come to the bishop's ears he would in a rage accuse me of my writings—to prevent the same I sent the copy of it to him, to see, before I sent it to her majesty, saying that necessity drove me to signify this or else I was like to lie here while I lived; and

But if either these hopes were to be realised or their professions successfully maintained, it was necessary to prevent the northern counties from exploding into premature rebellion; and this might prove less easy than Norfolk wished. For years past —from the day of her return from France to Holyrood—Mary Stuart had been in correspondence with the gentlemen of Yorkshire and Northumberland. The death of Darnley had cooled their passion for her, but when she came to England she soon "enchanted" them again "by her flexible wit and sugared eloquence."[1] Before Sir Francis Knollys cut short her levées at Carlisle, they had listened in hundreds to her own tale of her wrongs, and besides their religion and political predilections for her, they had been set on fire with a chivalrous enthusiasm for the lovely lady who was in the hands of the magicians.

When she was removed from Carlisle to Bolton, the gates of Scrope's castle were usually thrown open to the neighbourhood, and the eager knights-errant had free access to her presence. When at times she was thought likely to attempt an escape and the guards were set upon the alert, loyalty, like love, still found means to penetrate the charmed circle. Every high-spirited young gentleman, whose generosity was stronger than his intelligence, had contrived in some way to catch a glance from her eyes and to hear some soft words from her lips, and from that moment became her slave, body and soul.

Conspicuous among these youths were the Nortons, of whom the reader has heard as the intending assassins of the Earl of Murray.

The father, Richard Norton, was past middle life at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace. It may be assumed with confidence that he was one of the thirty thousand troopers who followed Robert Aske from Pomfret to Doncaster behind the banner of the Five Wounds of Christ. Now in his old age, he was still true to the cause. He had been left like a great many others unmolested in the profession and practice of his faith; and he had bred up eleven stout sons and eight daughters, all like himself devoted children of Holy Church. One of these, Christofer, had been among the first to enroll himself a knight of Mary Stuart. His religion had taught him to combine subtlety with courage; and through carelessness, or treachery, or his own address he had been admitted into Lord Scrope's guard at Bolton Castle. There he was at hand to assist his lady's escape, should escape prove possible; there he was able to receive

[1] Notes in Cecil's hand, October 6: *Cotton MSS.* CALIG. C.

messages or carry them; there, to throw the castellan off his guard, he pretended to flirt with her attendants, and twice at least by his own confession, closely as the prisoner was watched, he contrived to hold private communications with her.

The scenes which he describes throw sudden and vivid light upon the details of Mary Stuart's confinement. The rooms occupied by her opened out of the great hall. An antechamber and an apartment beyond it were given up to her servants. Her own bedroom, the third of the series, was at the farther extremity. A plan had been formed to carry her off. Lady

[illegible]

to do. He was on duty in the hall. By a preconcerted arrangement, a page in the anteroom took liberties with one of the maids. There was much screaming, tittering, and confusion. Norton rushed in to keep the peace, and, sheltered by the hubbub, contrived to pass through and to say what he desired. The scheme, like a hundred others, came to nothing; but as one web was ravelled out, a second was instantly spun. Another time Mary Stuart had something to say to Norton; and this scene—so distinct is the picture—may be told in his own words:—

"One day when the Queen of Scots, in winter,[1] had been sitting at the window-side knitting of a work, and after the board was covered, she rose and went to the fire-side, and, making haste to have the work finished, would not lay it away, but worked of it the time she was warming of herself. She looked for one of her servants, which indeed were all gone to fetch up her meat, and, seeing none of her own folk there, called me to hold her work, who was looking at my Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys playing of chess. I went, thinking I had deserved no blame, and that it should not have become me to have refused to do it, my Lady Scrope standing there, and many gentlemen in the chamber, that saw she spake not to me. [illegible]

of me.

by the q [illegible]

asked him if I watched. He answered sometimes. Then he

[1] 1568-9.

him commandment that I should watch no more, and said queen would make me a fool." [1]

How full of life is the description! The castle hall, the winter, the servants bringing up the dinner, the game at chess, and imouna, with her soft eyes and skeins of worsted, binding the nds and heart of her captive knight. Two years later the oor youth was under the knife of the executioner at Tyburn. And such as Norton was, were a thousand more who hung bout Bolton, Wingfield, Tutbury, wherever Mary Stuart was onfined, lying in wait for a glimpse of her as she passed hunting, surrounded by her guards, or watching at night among the rocks and bushes for the late light of the taper which flickered in her chamber windows.[2]

And now all these youths, through the summer of 1569, had been fed with the hope that their day was coming, when either the noblemen of England united in council would force the queen to set her captive free, or they themselves, her glorious band of deliverers, were to burst the walls of this prison and bear her away in triumph. The adhesion of the Duke of Norfolk to their party, coupled with some uncertainty among themselves, had modified their original programme. The duke having a large party among the Protestants,[3] they intended to say nothing about religion till they had used their help and could afford to show their colours. The pretext for the rising was to be the liberation of Mary Stuart, the establishment of the succession in her favour, and the removal of evil councillors about the queen.[4] The signal for rebellion was to be the withdrawal of the Duke of Norfolk from the court. The Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland and Leonard Dacres were then to take the field while Norfolk, Arundel, Montague, Lumley, and the rest of th confederates were to raise the east and the south.[5] Confider in their own strength, confident in the seeming union of thre quarters of the nobility, confident in the provisions which t' Spanish ambassador had made in Alva's name and which Al intended to observe so far as he might find expedient, th believed that they had but to show themselves in arms for opposition to go down before them.

[1] Confession of Christopher Norton, April, 1570: *MSS. Domestic*, *House.*

[2] One of Mary Stuart's peculiarites—a remarkable one in those —was that she seldom went to bed till one or two in the morning.

[3] "Car infinis Protestants sont pour le Duc."—La Mothe to the October 8.

[4] Confession to the Earl of Northumberland: *Border MSS.*

[5] Confession of Thomas Bishop, May 10, 1570: *MSS. Hatfield.*

The whole scheme had been thrown into confusion by the irresolution of Norfolk. Leonard Dacres, Westmoreland, old Norton, and a number of gentlemen were collected at Lord Northumberland's house at Topcliff, waiting for news from [illegible] queen."[1] They were expecting every moment to hear that the eastern counties had risen, when one midnight, at the end of September, they were roused out of their sleep to be told that a messenger had come. It was a servant of Norfolk's. He would not come to the house, but was waiting "a flight shot from the park wall" Westmoreland went out to him and came back presently to say "that the duke, for the brotherly love they bore him, begged them not to stir or he would be in danger of losing his head."

The preparations for the rising were so complete that there was scarcely a hope that their intentions could be concealed. Dacres and Northumberland, "seeing small hopes of success, were desirous to put off the matter," but many of the gentlemen being "hot and earnest," cursed the duke and their unlucky connection with him, and, careless whether he lived or died, resolved to stir notwithstanding" The lords were obliged to seem to yield As Norfolk had turned coward, they were no [illegible] ow change their [illegible] he quarrel was [illegible]

Lord Westmoreland made an objection curiously characteristic of the times.

"Those," he said, "that seem to take that quarrel in other countries are counted as rebels, and I will never blot my name, which has been preserved thus long without staining."[2] "A scruple" rose, "whether by God's law they might wage battle against an anointed prince, until he or she was lawfully excommunicated by the Head of the Church"

Three priests were present to whom the question was referred. One, a Doctor Morton, by whom Northumberland had been reconciled two years before, said that, as the queen had refused to receive the pope's nuncio, she was excommunicated then and there by her own act. The other two thought direct rebellion unlawful "until the sentence had been orderly published within the realm."[3]

[1] Confession of the Earl of Northumberland · *MSS. Border*
[2] Ibid
[3] Ibid.

The earls might have been pardoned for not anticipating the weakness of Norfolk; they were inexcusable in not having discovered beforehand the condition of Catholic opinion on a point so vital. The party broke up with this new element of disunion among them. They agreed that at least for the present they must remain quiet; and Northumberland sent Sir Oswald Wilkinson to the Spanish ambassador to ascertain more certainly what they were to look for from Flanders.[1] So October passed away, bringing with it, unfortunately, a fresh defeat of the Huguenots at Moncoutour to excite the Catholics, while at the same time an unexpected commission of an alarming kind came over from Brussels. The Spanish ambassador had been released from restraint, and Elizabeth had given him to understand that if some person was sent to her with powers direct from the King of Spain, she would treat for the restoration of the money. Such a person was now announced to be coming, bearing, as she desired, a commission from Philip; but the minister selected for the mission was the ablest officer in the Duke of Alva's army, Chapin Vitelli, Marquis of Cetona. Why a soldier had been chosen for a diplomatic embassy was a mystery which misled alike the court and the Catholics. In reality the Duke of Alva, finding a large responsibility thrown upon him by Philip, and ignorant how far he could depend upon the representations of Don Guerau and his friends, desired to have some professional opinion on the relative strength of the queen and the Catholics. Chapin was sent over to negotiate—should negotiation prove possible—with all sincerity. If any disturbance broke out, he was to avail himself of it to obtain better terms for his master; but he was not intended to take part actively under any circumstances, and was merely to use his eyes in case ulterior measures should be eventually necessary.[2]

[1] Confession of Oswald Wilkinson: MURDIN.

[2] That the hopes held out by Don Guerau to the Catholics were not as yet to be fulfilled is perfectly clear from a letter written by Philip during the autumn. Speaking of the proposed insurrection and the overtures of the Catholics to Don Guerau, Philip says:—

"No se puede ni debe tratar dello hasta ver al fin que tiene la negociation que se trae sobre restitucion de lo arestado, que si sucede como se pretende, por mi parte no se dejará de levantar adelante la antigua amistad que mis pasados y yo habemos tenido con esa corona: pero no se haciendo asi, ya entonces seria menester tomar otro camino, y para tal caso es muy conveniente que vos me vais siempre avisando como lo haceis."

Philip was just then troubled with an insurrection of the Moors, and having Flanders on his hands also, was most unwilling to add to his embarrassments. The English Catholics might rebel if they pleased. If they could overthrow Elizabeth without assistance from himself, he would

to take on with him no more than five attendants;[1] while owing to the suspension of the more moderate element in the council, a step was taken which, though often threatened, had been hitherto delayed by the influence of Pembroke and Arundel. The Act of Uniformity was at last to be enforced, and every

The ecclesiastical arrangements everywhere were in extreme confusion; and the principles of Anglicanism had been worked with extreme looseness.[2]

Keeper.

procurement or allowance, in contempt, lack, or reproof of any part of religion established by the foresaid Act"—*MSS Domestic*, November, 1569

the Reformation was supposed to have made most progress.

Disorders in the Diocese of Chichester, December, 1569

"In many churches they have no sermons, not one in seven years, and some not one in twelve years, as the parishes have declared to the preachers that lately came thither to preach. Few churches have their quarter

e bishops, who were sure of Elizabeth's countenance in ecuting Puritans, could not trust to be supported if they dled with the other side; and it was not till her present m that the queen was roused to a conviction that she could longer halt safely between two opinions.

In the neighbourhood of London the commission was not ill ceived. A few magistrates here and there hesitated at the nd from "scrupulosity of conscience," but all were ready to ve securities for their allegiance, and to renew their oaths to he queen "as their lawful sovereign."

The experiment was far more critical in the northern counties, where the mere rumour of the intention was so much fresh fuel on the fire. There, in their unanimity of opposition, the people were unconscious of the strength of Protestantism elsewhere, and they despised as well as hated it.

Doctor Morton, after the breaking up of the assembly at Top-cliff, travelled rapidly about the country to ascertain the general feeling on the difficulty which had arisen. He had been, or pro-fessed to have been, in other parts of the island as well, and to

preach in Queen Mary's days, and now do not nor will not, and yet keep their livings.

"Others be fostered in gentlemen's houses, and some betwixt Sussex and Hampshire, and are hinderers of true religion and do not minister. Others come not at their parish church nor receive the Holy Communion at Easter; but at that time get them out of the country until that feast be passed and return not again until then.

"They have many books that were made beyond the seas and they have them there with the first; for exhibitioners goeth out of that shire and diocese unto them beyond the seas. As to Mr. Stapleton, who, being excommunicated by the bishop, did fly and avoid the realm, these men have his goods and send him money for them.

"In the church of Arundel certain altars do stand yet still to the offence of the godly which murmur and speak much against the same.

"They have yet in the diocese in many places thereof images hidden and other popish ornaments ready to set up the mass again within 24 hours' warning, as in the town of Battle and in the parish of Lindefield where they be yet very blind and superstitious.

"In the town of Battle, where a preacher doth come and speak any thing against the pope's doctrine, they will not abide, but get them ou of the church.

"In many places they keep yet their chalices, looking to have ma again, whereas they were commanded to turn them into communion cu after our fashion, keeping yet weight for weight. Some parishes fei that their chalices were stolen away, and therefore they ministered glasses and profane goblets.

"In many places the people cannot yet say their commandments, in some not the articles of their belief.

"In the cathedral church of Chichester there be very few preac resident—of thirty-one probendaries scarcely four or five.

"Few of the aldermen of Chichester be of a good religion, but vehemently suspected to favour the pope's doctrine; and yet the justices of the peace."—*MSS. Domestic, Rolls House.*

followed to the same purpose. As to the excommunication, he

them to delay no longer, but to take arms at once for their country, their Saviour, and their Church. The Duke of Norfolk had failed them, but they were happy in the loss of his support. With Norfolk for an ally they could have risen only for the settlement of the succession; they could now touch the hearts of every Christian Englishman by declaring themselves the defenders of the ancient faith.[3]

The priest's eloquence was not entirely successful. The temper of the south of England was known only "upon con-

[1] Northumberland's confession *Border MSS*

[2] "Doctor Morton said that the Christian princes, through the pope's

the Rolls.

[3] "Our first purpose was the establishment of the succession. Since *the apprehension of the Duke of Norfolk the setting up of religion, meaning* Papistry, is our purpose"—Declaration of George Tongue, November 8 *Border MSS*

jectures." Northumberland wrote to various friends, but "was answered with such coldness as misliked him." [1] In the autumn fairs in Yorkshire, men formed and gathered in knots and groups, and the air was full of uneasy "expectations of change." Still nothing was done. Lord Derby, among others, was ominously silent, which, as Northumberland said, "greatly discouraged him." The Queen of Scots and Don Guerau equally recommended quiet.

Meanwhile Lord Sussex, who was established at York as president of the council, was anxiously watching the condition of the northern districts. As a friend of Norfolk, Sussex had been counted upon by the confederates as likely to be favourable to them. In their altered position they were less able to tell what to expect from him. At the beginning of October he invited the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland to York, to give him the benefit of their advice. Wishing to feel his temper they immediately complied; [2] and they found at once that he had not the slightest disposition towards disloyalty. The Norfolk marriage was talked over. They both assured him "that they would never stand to any matters that should be to her majesty's displeasure or against her surety;" [3] and Sussex believed them and allowed them to return to their houses. Reports reached him afterwards that they had taken arms, and that the country was up; but he ascertained that their stables were more than usually empty, that there were no signs of preparation in their establishments, and that at least for the present no danger was to be apprehended. He had a narrow escape of falling a victim to his confidence. Assured of the popular feeling on their side, the earls believed that if they could seize York and make themselves masters of the local government, Lord Derby and the other waverers would no longer hesitate to join them. It was proposed that Northumberland with a few hundred horse should make a sudden dart upon the city some Sunday morning, lie concealed in the woods till the bell "left knolling for sermon," and then ride in, stop the doors of the cathedral, and take president and council prisoners. "Treason," however, had a terrible sound to an English nobleman. They reflected "that the thing might cause bloodshed," and so "passed it over;" [4] waiting till circumstances came to their assistance and decided their course for them.

[1] Northumberland's confession: *Border MSS.*

[2] Sussex to Sir George Bowes, October 9: *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569.* [3] Sussex to the Queen, October 30: *Border MSS.*

[4] Northumberland's confession: Ibid.

Their names were often mentioned in the examinations which followed on Norfolk's arrest; and it came out that they had been *in correspondence with Don Guerau. The queen required their* presence in London, and though Sussex doubted the prudence of sending for them till the winter was further advanced, Elizabeth was peremptory, and insisted that they should come to her without delay.

The two noblemen whose names were to acquire a brief distinction were by position and family the hereditary leaders of the north—it may be said the hereditary chiefs of English revolution. Northumberland was the descendant of the great earl who had given the throne to the house of Lancaster. His father, Sir Thomas Percy, had been attainted and executed after the Pilgrimage of Grace, but the confiscated estates were restored to the old house by Queen Mary, and the young earl had come back to his inheritance amidst the passionate enthusiasm of a people to whom the Percies had been more than their sovereign [illegible]

No shield in England showed prouder quarterings, and no family had played a grander part in the feudal era of England.

Had the personal character of either earl been equal to their lineage, they too might have changed a dynasty, and it was with no unreasonable misgivings that Sussex prepared to obey his mistress's commands. There was not a single nobleman in the north on whom he felt that he could rely. The Earl of Cumberland was "a crazed man," and his tenants were under the leadership of Leonard Dacres, who had married his sister. The Earl of Derby, though said to be "soft," was a Catholic at heart, and "the five lords" were generally spoken of as likely, if not certain, to support each other

The queen's orders found the earls at Raby. Westmoreland at once refused to obey. "Evil rumours," he said, "had been spread abroad about him and carried to the court. He did not care to trust himself away from his friends,"[1] and as an intimation that he did not intend to be taken without resistance, he reviewed his retainers under arms[2] Northumberland varied his answer by saying that he was busy and for the present could not comply, but he returned to Topcliff "determined not to

[1] Sussex to the Queen, November 8. [2] November 6

e," and meaning, or believing that he meant, to go up to
ondon in the winter.[1]
Sir George Bowes, however, sent word to Sussex that mischief
as gathering; and Sussex, terrified at his own weakness, wrote
Elizabeth to say that, although he would "do his part" if
he required him to take the earls prisoners, he recommended her
to overlook their disobedience, and "call them home to her
favour."[2] He was disinclined to Cecil and Cecil's policy. He
preferred the old order of things to the new. Like the rest of
the old peers, he was in favour of the Queen of Scots' succession;
and without a disloyal thought, he sympathised, to some extent
at least, with the earl's dissatisfaction.

To compose matters if possible before receiving further
positive directions, he sent his secretary to Topcliff to persuade
Northumberland to go to the queen at once. Northumberland
answered that he had "not been well used," made many objec-
tions, but "in the end" seemed to yield, and promised to prepare
for his journey. It appeared, however, that Catholic hopes and
Catholic fanaticism had been stirred too deeply. There was a
natural fear that the queen had discovered the whole plot, and
the Countess Anne[3] was made of harder stuff than her husband.
The secretary was detained at Topcliff for some hours while his
horses were resting; at midnight[4] a message came to bid him
haste away or it would be the worse for him; while a servant,
who had come probably no farther than from the countess's
apartment, woke Northumberland from his first sleep with the
news that, "within an hour Sir Oswald Wolstrop would be upon
him to carry him muffled to Elizabeth." The earl sprang from
his bed, ordered his horses to be saddled, the bridge over th
Swale to be broken, and the church bells to be rung backward
The jangled sound broke on the ears of Sussex's emissary
he rode out of the town. His guide, when he asked what
meant, "sighed, and answered, he was afraid it was to raise t
country."[5]

The cry was out that "the pope had summoned England on
he was about to summon it again, and then it would be lav
to rise against the queen for the pope was head of the Church

[1] Confession of Thomas Bishop: *MSS. Hatfield.*
[2] Sussex to the Queen, November 8; Sussex to Cecil, same date: *M*
Border.
[3] Daughter of Somerset Earl of Worcester and niece of Lord Mon
[4] November 9.
[5] Sussex to the Queen, November 10: *MSS. Border.*
[6] Evans to the Council, November 8: Ibid.

Swinburn, and a hundred other gentlemen, made their way to the Earl of Westmoreland. The country was covered with flying peasants, driving their cattle before them for fear of plunder, and with scattered bands of insurgents who were seek-

him some comfort, that he might repair to her presence."[1] But he was drawn with the rest to Raby, where he and they were to decide whether they would fight, or fly, or submit. There, two days after, at a general council, the question was once more discussed. They were all uncertain; the Nortons

courage put spirit into the men. There was still one more chance: while they were debating, a pursuivant came from Sussex requiring the earls, for the last time, to return to their allegiance. If they were falsely accused to the queen, Sussex said that their friends would stand by them. If they had slipped, their friends would intercede for them"[2] But it was now too late. Northumberland proposed to go on to Alnwick, raise his people there, and join the others on the Tyne, but the Nortons and the other gentlemen would not allow him to leave them The pursuivant was detained till he could carry back a fuller answer than could be expressed in words, and at four o'clock the following afternoon, Sunday, the 14th of November, as the twilight was darkening, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Sir Christofer, and Sir Cuthbert Neville, and old Richard Norton entered the

[1] Northumberland to the Queen, November 23 (sic): *Border MSS.* The date is obviously wrong The earl left Topcliff on the 10th

[2] Sussex to the Earls, November 13: *Memorials of the Rebellion*

y of Durham. With sixty followers armed to the teeth behind em, they strode into the cathedral; Norton, with a massive old crucifix hanging from his neck, and carrying the old banner f the Pilgrimage, the cross and streamers and the five wounds. They "overthrew the communion board;" they tore the English Bible and Prayer-book to pieces, the ancient altar was taken from a rubbish heap where it had been thrown, and solemnly replaced, and the holy water vessel was restored at the west door; and then, amidst tears, embraces, prayers, and thanksgivings, the organ pealed out, and candles and torches were lighted, and mass was said once more in the long-desecrated aisles.

"Tell your master what you have seen," Northumberland said to the messenger, when it was over. "Bid him use no further persuasions; our lives are in danger, and if we are to lose them, we will lose them in the field."[1]

The first step once ventured there was no more hesitation. On Monday morning they moved south, to Darlington, gathering force like a snow-ball, and with herald's voice and written proclamation, at cross road and village green, in town hall and pulpit, they made known their intentions to the world, and appealed to the religious conscience of the people. "They intended no hurt to the queen's majesty nor her good subjects," they said; "but inasmuch as the order of things in the Church and matters of religion were set forth and used contrary to the ancient and Catholic faith, their purpose was to reduce all the said causes of religion to the ancient custom and usage, and therein they desired all good people to take their part."[2] Sussex could do nothing to arrest the movement. He sent ou

[1] Sussex to Elizabeth, November 15: *MSS. Border*.

[2] Proclamation of the Earls, November 15: *Memorials of the Rebellio* The form was afterwards slightly varied, running thus:—"We, the Ea of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the queen's true and faith subjects, to all the same of the old Roman Catholic faith. Know ye th we with many others well disposed, as well of the nobility as others, ha promised our faith to the furtherance of this sure good meaning. For much as divers disordered and ill-disposed persons about the quee majesty have by their crafty and subtle dealing, to advance themsel overthrown in the realm the true and Catholic religion, and by the sa abuseth the queen, dishonoureth the realm, and now lastly seeketh procure the destruction of the nobility: We, therefore, have gathered selves together to resist force by force, and rather by the help of God of you good people, to reduce these things amiss, with the restoring ancient customs and liberties to God and this noble realm. And la if we shall not do it ourselves, we might be reformed by strangers, t great hazard of the state of this our country, whereunto we are all bo God save the queen."—Proclamation of the Earls, November 19: *Border*.

a commission to assemble the "force of the shire;" but if it came together he feared that it would be more likely to go over to the rebels than fight for the queen; could he trust the levies otherwise, he had no money to pay them with; and Yorkshiremen, as Sir George Bowes had to warn him, would never serve without wages."[1] Slow, perplexed, irresolute, the same at York as he had been six years before in his unlucky command in Ireland, Sussex could see nothing but the uselessness of resistance, and recommended Elizabeth to come to terms, if possible, with the insurgent leaders. "If the rebels prepare to fight," he wrote, "they will make religion their ground; and what force they may have in that cause, and how faintly the most part of the country that go with me will fight against that cause, and what treason may be wrought amongst mine own force for that cause, I know not. But truly, and upon my duty to your majesty, I have great cause to doubt much of every of them, and so I do indeed. Your majesty must consider whether it shall be greater surety for you to pardon these earls their part taken and their offences past, to call them to attend at your court, where you may be sure from any practice, and this winter to purge this country and the other parts of the realm of the ill affected; and so to avoid the danger of foreign aid and make all sure at home, or else to hazard battle against desperate men, with soldiers that fight against their conscience.

"If it come to the fight, either God shall give you the victory, or if any man will stand with me, you shall find my carcase on the ground, whatever the rest of my company do; for besides my duty to your majesty, I will for my conscience' sake spend all my lives, if I had a thousand, against all the world that shall draw sword against our religion; but I find all the wisest Protestants affected that you should offer mercy before you try the sword."[2]

The earls understood thoroughly that for the time the game was in their hands. They advanced straight and steadily southwards, their numbers varying or variously reported as from eight to fifteen thousand, among whom were two thousand horse well armed and appointed. The only regular troops in the presidency were on the border in garrison at Berwick or Carlisle, or in the middle marches with Sir John Foster. Both Sussex and Cecil wrote pressingly that some of these soldiers

[1] Bowes to Sussex, November 17.
[2] Sussex to the Queen, November 15. *MSS. Border.*

should be sent to York; but they could not be spared from their posts. The Earl of Murray had proposed in August to set in order the Scotch border. It will be remembered that Elizabeth, just then in pique at Murray for refusing to receive back his sister, had ordered the wardens, if the regent molested any gentlemen inclined to Mary Stuart, to receive and protect them. The Kers and the Scotts were thus left undisturbed, and "the earls had so practised with them that the wardens had more need of men themselves than were able to spare any to send elsewhere;"[1] Northumberland had been in communication through the autumn "with all the dangerous lords and gentlemen" between Forth and Tweed; the powder-train of the general conspiracy had been laid throughout the island wherever Mary Stuart had a friend.

Sir George Bowes flung himself into Barncastle, with a few score servants and followers. Lord Darcy held Pomfret, and trusted faintly that if the queen would send him money he might be able to stop the passage over the Don. But there was no force anywhere which could meet the rebels in the field. On the 19th they were at Ripon, on the 20th at Knaresborough and Borrowbridge, on the 23rd they had passed York. Their main body was at Wetherby and Tadcaster, their advanced horse were far down across the Ouse.[2] The barns were full, the farmyards well stocked; the cattle which had fattened in the summer were not yet fallen off in flesh, and food was abundant. They moved on at leisure, intending to make first for Tutbury and release the Queen of Scots, and then either advance to London or wait for a corresponding movement in the south. To make the ground sure and to open a port through which the expected succours could reach them from Alva, by a side movement they secured Hartlepool. They sent letters to every person of rank whom they expected to find on their side. Misinterpreting the inaction of Sussex, they supposed that he was waiting only for the plea of constraint to join their party. They had avoided York on their advance to prevent a collision, and they wrote to beg him to make common cause with them.[3] To Lord Derby they wrote saying that, "because he was wise they needed not persuade with him" of the necessity of their rising; they knew "his zeal for God's true religion"—they knew "his care for conserving the ancient nobility;" they trusted that he would

[1] Forster to Bowes, November 25: *Memorials of the Rebellion.*
[2] Sussex to the Queen, November 24: *Border MSS.*
[3] Sussex to the Queen, November 26: Ibid.

lose no time in joining his forces to theirs:[1] while to commit before the world the other noblemen who they believed to be with them in heart, they set out a manifesto, relating as much [illegible]

[illegible] realm, near about the queen's person." They were themselves in danger from "sinister devices" which could only be avoided by the sword. They had therefore taken arms and committed themselves and their cause to Almighty God.[2]

The next step was to secure Mary Stuart. Their advanced camp was little more than fifty miles from Tutbury. Lord Northumberland proposed to go forward suddenly and rapidly with a small party. Lord Wharton and two of the Lowthers agreed to join him either on the road or at Burton or Tutbury, and so they hoped to carry the castle by surprise.[3]

Happily before the enterprise could be executed the Queen of Scots was beyond their reach. When the news that the earls had risen came first to London, Elizabeth failed to comprehend

[1] The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland to the Earl of Derby, [illegible]

[illegible] 3155.

[3] "For that you write that the enterprise of the chief purpose is resolutely upon the Earl of Northumberland to be attempted and that the [illegible]

the meaning of the danger. She could not believe that an insurrection on such a scale could have started suddenly out of the ground. She distrusted Sussex's judgment and half distrusted his loyalty. She insisted that he could have put down the disturbance at the first moment had he cared to do so, and she resented and seemed chiefly concerned about the expense to which she would be exposed. "The earls," she said, "were old in blood but poor in force;" and, evidently unconscious that a lost battle might be the loss of the realm, she declared that she would send down no pardons, and Sussex must restore order with the means already at his disposal.[1]

She wished to deceive herself, and she had those at her ear who were too ready to assist her. Leonard Dacres, when he separated from the earls, after their disappointment about Norfolk, had returned to London. Either the queen had sent for him as she sent for others, and he had thought it prudent to comply, or, not expecting a rising, he had gone up on business of his own. To anticipate the arrest which he had reason to look for, he sought and obtained an audience. With the address of which he was an accomplished master, he satisfied Elizabeth of his fidelity, which he assured her that he was only anxious to display in the field. The name of Dacres in the north was worth an army.

The queen listened graciously. Norfolk being now under a cloud, she promised Dacres favour in his suit for the estates, and he went down to Naworth with a formal commission to raise whatever force he could collect, and with instructions to join Lord Scrope at Carlisle. Dacres, who was a far abler man than either of the earls, believed them to have made a foolish mistake. He sent them word that if Scrope took the field, he would go with him "till he came in sight of their powers," and "then set upon him and overthrow him;" and this undoubtedly he meant to do, if the rebellion wore a complexion of success. But he had his own interests to look to also. He was not the

[1] Elizabeth did not realise that the Yorkshire levies could not be depended on. "Good Mr. Secretary," Sussex wrote in answer to Cecil, "give advice that the sparing of a little money in the beginning be not repented hereafter, and therefore send some good force that ye may surely trust to in these parts. To be short with you, he is a rare bird that by one means or other hath not some of his with the two earls or in his heart wisheth not well to the cause they pretend. Seeing what groweth in all the realm by this matter, I wish heartily the queen's majesty should quench the fire at the beginning, either by pardon or force; and if by force, then not to trust these parts, lest by one foil taken much may be hazarded." —Sussex to Cecil, November 20: *MSS. Border.*

[illegible]

which she had to depend on. He had secured his friends time, and so far had given them their best chance of success.[1]

Elizabeth's other measures were not more effective. To save the cost of sending troops from London, Lord Rutland, a boy of thirteen, was directed to call out the musters in Nottinghamshire, and put himself at their head. Sir Ralph Sadler and Thomas Cecil were ordered down to take charge of him, and to see especially that the young earl while on duty went diligently to church.[2] Spies offered their services, which were eagerly accepted. A Captain Stully volunteered to go among the insurgents, learn their secrets, divide and betray them.[3] A more dangerous person, who will be heard of again, Sir Robert Constable, undertook for a high bribe the same work.[4] With such precautions as these the queen imagined that the rebellion could be safely encountered. The one substantial precaution which she thought necessary was to join Lord Hunsdon in command with Sussex.

Meanwhile Don Gueran believed that the long-wished-for time was come. The Earl of Southampton and Lord Montague sent to consult him whether they should call out the Catholics in their own counties, or cross the Channel and endeavour to bring back Alva with them.[5] The ambassador declined to advise, and [illegible] ned over with the [illegible] ld, he had left the [illegible] and so confident was Don Gueran that he would not allow the occasion to pass, that he sent word to the earls that if they could but keep a single seaport open, they would have assistance in a fortnight. "Never," he told Philip, "was there a fairer chance of punish-

[1] Notes of the proceedings of Leonard Dacres, March 4, 1570: *MSS.* [illegible]

[illegible]

dixe que no podia darles consejo hasta tener la orden conveniente para ello."—Don Gueran to the Duke of Alva, December 1: *MSS Simancas*

ing the men who had so long insulted Spain, or of restoring the Catholic religion." [1]

All turned at that moment on the success of the adventure at Tutbury. Had the Queen of Scots reached the camp of the rebels, Southampton, Montague, Morley, Worcester, in all likelihood the Earl of Derby, would have immediately risen. Alva had a fleet already collected in Zealand with guns and powder on board; and he was understood to be waiting only to hear that she was as liberty to launch them upon England. If reports which reached Cecil spoke true, it was even arranged that the members of the infamous Blood Council would accompany the expedition to assist the Catholics in their expected revenge; [2] and La Mothe Fénelon congratulated himself that England was about to taste the same calamities which France had been suffering for years through English intrigues.[3]

Fortunately for Elizabeth, Lord Hunsdon reached the north in time to remove her delusions. He was at Doncaster on the 20th of November, where he found that the rebels were in force between him and Sussex. Accompanied by Sadler the made his way to Hull, and thence he passed round at the rear of them to York, while he sent back word that not a day was to be lost in sending troops from London, and that the Queen of Scots must be removed from Tutbury, or she would without doubt be carried off.[4]

Shrewsbury had received a similar warning and made such preparations for his defence as circumstances allowed. Huntingdon, who was at no great distance, rejoined him at his own request. If the castle was attacked in force, they felt both of them that it could not be held, but it would stand a siege for a day or two, and they took precautions not to be surprised. A

[1] Don Guerau to Philip, November 20: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] "Le Duc d'Alva a eu entendement avecques quelqu'ungs Seigneurs d'Angleterre, et il les a promis assistance à l'encontre da la Reyne et la religion, pour quelle fin ledict Duc avoit faict apprester en Holland et Zeeland certain nombre de navires, les quelles sont deja equippez et grande preparation de beaucoup de grande artillerie y sont amenex. L'ung de ses filz estoit appointé pour y venir avecques ung nombre de gens jusques à quelque havre au pais de Norfolk, entre lesquelles estoient quelques Espagnolz *conseilleurs appointez, à sçavoir la conseille de Sang,* comme ils sont au Pais Bas Inquisiteurs qui auroient faict detestables et horribles punitions et dechirations du peuple."— — to Cecil, December 8. From Brussels: *MSS. Hatfield.*

[3] La Mothe au Roy, November 25: *Dépêches*, vol. ii.

[4] The earls intend to go through withal. Their meaning is to take the Scottish queen, and therefore, for God's sake, let her not remain where she is, for their greatest force are horsemen."—Hunsdon to Cecil, November 20: *MSS. Border.*

mounted guard patrolled the woods at night, and the Queen of Scots herself was carefully kept in sight. She had affected illness and had desired to be alone; but Shrewsbury by this time understood her and felt more suspicion than alarm.

So matters stood with them when Westmoreland was arranging his plans for her rescue. Another day or night would have seen the attempt made, for the earls knew how much depended on it; but, on the 23rd of November, a courier dashed in from London with an order for the Queen of Scots' instant removal to Coventry. It was a delicate matter to take her anywhere. "The more she was seen and acquainted with, the greater the danger." The commission, too, had been sent to Huntingdon [illegible]

[illegible]

hundred men, and so made their best speed to Warwickshire. They rode into Coventry "at night, to avoid the fond gaze and confluence of the people." They had been ordered to prevent Mary Stuart from being seen or spoken to, but their precautions were useless. No preparations had been made to receive them, and they were obliged to take her to an inn too small to admit more than her personal attendants, and too public to enable them to seclude her from sight. At Coventry, as everywhere else, she found a mysterious body of friends devoted heart and soul to her, and "going up and down the town with full powers to practise." Shrewsbury continued cold, distant, and resentful;"[1] and Huntingdon, who found the contents of his most secret despatches were in some way carried to her ears, could not but feel a wish that she was safe in Nottingham Castle rather than in an open town, especially as he knew that dangerous influences were at work upon Elizabeth and doubted how far she would resist them.[2]

He had good reason for uneasiness. Norfolk, more than ever uneasy at this imprisonment, when the revolution seemed likely

[1] Huntingdon to Cecil.

[2] "I am sorry to understand such objections as you write be many times made against good counsels given by true-affected councillors. God amend that fault wheresoever it be, or else our country and sovereign [illegible]

to be accomplished and the fruits of it snatched from himself, plied Elizabeth with passionate entreaties for forgiveness. He professed a horror at "the enterprise of the rebel earls." For himself, he swore that he "had never dealt with them, either for religion, title, or succession," and that he had never entertained an undutiful thought towards herself.[1] At the same time he was endeavouring with vows and promises to re-establish himself in the affections of Mary Stuart, and she in turn was bewitching him with assurances of eternal fidelity, declaring herself[2] to be waiting only for his directions, careless of dangers and ready, if he could extricate himself, to slip through the hands of her own keepers.

While the two principals were thus engaged, the Bishop of Ross was besieging Leicester, and through Leicester the ears of Elizabeth. The Bishop of Ross, with every fibre of the conspiracy in his hands, could carry to the council the smoothest aspect of innocence. He could affect to grieve over the disturbances which he had himself assisted to kindle, and wind up with a lamentation over the dangers of his mistress, and entreat that she might be allowed to fly from the storms which were threatening to overwhelm her. His mistress, he said, had preferred the friendship of the Queen of England to that of the "most puissant of princes." She had chosen her out and clung to her as the sole support of her misfortunes; her majesty should return love for love and let her go.[3]

Elizabeth's suspicions of the Queen of Scots had happily been stirred too deeply, and neither the advice of fools or traitors, nor Norfolk's mendacity, nor the eloquence of the Bishop of Ross, could charm her now into a false security.

Meantime the earls had missed their chance and had lost the

[1] Norfolk to Elizabeth, December 5: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i.

[2] "When you say to me you will be to me as I will, then you shall remain mine own good lord, as you subscribed once with God's grace, and I will remain yours faithfully. Neither weal nor woe shall remove me from you if you cast me not away."—Mary Stuart to Norfolk, December —: LABANOFF, vol. iii.

[3] "Let her majesty remember," he wrote to Leicester, "what great commendations and immortal fame many kings and princes have purchased for themselves for benefit, aid, and support bestowed on other princes being in like distress. Abraham delivered his brother Lot. Cyrus set free the Jews from their captivity. Evil Merodach delivered Joachim, King of Judah, forth of prison. The Romans restored Masinissa, King of Numidia, and did not noble Cordela (*sic*) set up again in the royal throne of Britain her father, driven from thence by his two other unkind and unnatural daughters? Would not her majesty in like manner have pity on one who was at once her sister, daughter, friend?"—The Bishop of Ross to Leicester, November 28: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

game in missing it. Mary Stuart once beyond their reach, there was no longer any fear from Alva The southern noblemen let the time for action go by, and the rebel earls, after waiting three days about Tadcaster, turned back upon their steps. They had expected that all England would rise to meet them The universal tranquillity was not disturbed The Earl of Derby,

and Northumberland, and wait to be attacked. They thought of assaulting York, but they doubted whether they could take it without guns. There would be danger to their friends in the town, and though Westmoreland, who saw more clearly than the others the necessity of doing something important, was in favour of the attempt, he was alone in his opinion [2]

Lord Sussex had deserved more credit than he was likely to receive. His brother, Sir Egremont Radcliffe, had joined the insurgent army, giving a show of colour to the queen's suspicions. But when Hunsdon and Sadler arrived they found that he had done as much as he could in prudence have ventured. He had collected within the walls almost three thousand men. He had not led them against the rebels because " they wished better to *the enemy's cause than to the queen's.*" *But as Elizabeth be-*

loyally and wisely in refusing to risk a battle If only their own lives were at stake, both he himself and Hunsdon and Sussex would try their fortunes, even with the untrusty soldiers they had: " but " should they receive one overthrow the sequel would

[1] La Mothe, December 27 *Dépêches*, vol ii
[2] Bishop's Confession: *MSS Hatfield* Confession of Christofer Norton, April, 1570 *MSS Domestic, Rolls House*
[3] Sadler to Cecil, December 6 *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii.

be so dangerous as it was better for the queen to spend a great deal of treasure than they should give that adventure." [1]

Sussex, therefore, had acted well and wisely in sitting still behind the walls of York. Had the Queen of Scots been released his caution would have availed him little; the war would have rolled south and have left him behind: but it was necessary to risk something, and events worked for him. Money came in at last, though in small quantities and grudgingly given. The soldiers in the city were paid up and grew better tempered. "The discreet began to mislike the insurrection," "the wealthy to be afraid of spoil." At the first stir "there were few or none of the citizens that were not more addicted to the rebels than to the queen," and there was not a cannon or a cartridge in the town. Sussex kept them all quiet, brought guns and powder up from Hull, threw up bulwarks, did everything better than could have been expected from his first fears and his common-place character. Hunsdon was able to say "that if Sussex's diligence and carefulness had not been great, her majesty had neither had York nor Yorkshire any longer at her devotion: he wished to God her majesty knew all his doings: she would know how good a subject she had." [2]

By this time the court was thoroughly alarmed, and a southern force was on the move. Lord Pembroke replied to the earls' manifesto with disclaiming all sympathy with them or their object. He had ever been a true subject, he said, and he did not mean in his old age to spot his former life with disloyalty. He declared himself ready and willing to serve anywhere and against any enemy.[3] With graceful confidence the queen accepted Pembroke's services, and named him at once general of an army of reserve which was to assemble at Windsor.[4] Southampton and Montague, partly perhaps in fear, partly with worse intentions, made an effort to escape abroad. They had sailed, but were driven back by a storm. The queen heard of it: to disarm treason by not affecting to see it, she gave Montague the command of the south coast, and joined Lord Bedford in commission with him, as a security against his betraying his

[1] Sadler to Cecil, December 3: *Border MSS.*
[2] Hunsdon to Cecil, November 26: Ibid.
[3] Pembroke to the Queen, December 5: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i.
[4] "The queen will have an army here of 15,000 men by the 10th of December, whereof the Lord Pembroke shall be general."—Cecil to Sadler: *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii. It was to be composed of levies from Essex, Kent, Sussex, Hants, Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire, Wilts, and Somerset.—*MSS. Domestic*, November, 1569.

trust.[1] By these and similar measures the insurrectionary spirit was subdued everywhere but in the north. So far as England was concerned generally, the rebellion had flashed in the pan. The Catholic leaders were taken by surprise, separated by long distances, and unable to concert any common plan of action. They distrusted one another, they doubted whether

would only say that they must do nothing unless they were certain of success.[3]

A proclamation was now sent down and issued at York, promising a free pardon to all the rebels except the two earls and ten others, on condition of their immediately laying down their arms. Lord Clinton went into Lincolnshire, Lord Warwick and Lord Hereford into the midland counties, to collect a force to relieve Sussex; and by the end of November two bodies of 4000 men each were converging rapidly upon Doncaster.

Warwick was crippled with gout and only half recovered from the wound which he had received at Havre, but "thinking

in case the Spaniards should attempt to cross.

On the 26th of November the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland were proclaimed traitors at Windsor. Northumberland was a Knight of the Garter. On Sunday the 27th, a fortnight after the mass in Durham Cathedral, the heralds and the knight marshal went in procession to St. George's Chapel. Rouge Cross read the sentence of degradation from a ladder against the wall Chester "hurled down with violence the

Philip, December 20

[3] "Mas ban de mirar mucho como lo emprender, pues si errasese el hecho eran todos perdidos, y vos hecisteis muy bien en remitirlos al Duque de Alva"—Philip to Don Guerau, November 18

[4] Warwick to Cecil, December 3 *MSS Domestic*

earl's banner of arms to the ground, his sword, his crest, and then his helmet and mantle;" while Garter, waiting below, "spurned them with like violence from the place where they had fallen, out of the west door of the chapel, and thence clean out of the uttermost gates of the castle."[1]

Three days later the rebel army was broken up. The men scattered about Yorkshire in parties of two and three hundred, "spoiling" for want of other means to feed themselves. Sussex kept close within the walls of York, and let them pursue their retreat unmolested. The earls divided: Northumberland went straight back to Durham, sending his own people before him to fortify Alnwick. Westmoreland paused at Barncastle, where a brief success revived his failing spirits. Sir George Bowes was in the castle with 800 men. The Berwick garrison had made an effort to relieve him, but had been unable to leave the borders. He was scantily provided with arms, and had so little powder that he durst not waste it. Westmoreland had brought falconets and other small field-pieces with him, and as Bowes was short of provisions besides his other deficiencies, Sussex sent him word that he had better let his "horse" cut their way out at night and make their way to York, and himself hold the keep till relief could reach him. The horse escaped as Sussex directed, but Bowes himself was less fortunate. The garrison mutinied. The men leapt over the walls by twenty and thirty at a time. Two hundred of "the best disposed" who were on guard went out openly through the gates and joined the insurgents, and as those who remained showed signs of intending to follow them, Bowes was obliged to surrender, stipulating only to be allowed to go where he would.

Westmoreland refortified the castle, left a party there to hold it, and went to Raby.[2] Vain of his solitary capture, he expected that the tide would now turn; he anticipated, from the behaviour of Bowes's followers, that the queen's troops, which were coming up so slowly, had no intention of fighting, and that if they were forced into the field they would pass over to his side.[3] But a few days undeceived him. The evil signs remained unchanged. Dacres was at Carlisle with Scrope, and sent word

[1] *MSS. Domestic*, November, 1569.

[2] Raby Castle was described at this time "as a marvellous huge house of building with three wards builded all of stone and covered with lead." The country round was bleak and untimbered; "nor the castle itself of any strength, but like a monstrous old abbey which would soon decay if it was not repaired."—Sadler to Cecil, December 2: *Memorials of the Rebellion*.

[3] Constable to Sadler, December 16: *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii.

Sir Robert Constable the spy, who had joined him, contrived "to spread such terror among them as he trusted there would be no need of stroke or shot." Constable had been directed "to sow sedition among the rebels, discourage, divide, and disperse them," and to "spare no money" in the process.

instead only the ships of the queen, which as the weather served,

It was useless to wait longer. Barncastle was again deserted, Hartlepool was evacuated, and so much of the insurgent force as held together was reassembled in Durham in the middle of December. There, as the solitary result of their movement, they could still hear mass in the cathedral, but the Almighty Power whom they had hoped to propitiate had not interfered in their favour. About 4000 were said to be now remaining in arms, but among these "mistrust" was spreading, and a fear that the earls would steal away and leave them to their fate.[4]

Meanwhile Clinton and Warwick were advancing on their several routes. They had been long on their way, for the "roads were foul and miry." "The men were wearied with marching in armour," and could move only five or six miles a day. On the 10th of December Clinton was at Doncaster. He too was short of money and was disappointed in his expectations of finding supplies waiting for him there.[5] But the

expressed himself in plainer language.

"If your lordship," he wrote to the president, "lack there the supplies

soldiers were loyal and were contented with promises. He pushed on, leaving accounts to be settled afterwards, and on the 13th met Warwick at Wetherby.

Together they had now 11,000 men, all well appointed, in high spirits, "and eager to encounter the rebels if they would abide."

This, however, it seemed now unlikely that the rebels would venture to do. The object was rather to prevent their flight; and Scrope, reassured by the apparent loyalty of Leonard Dacres, moved out from Carlisle to intercept them on their way to the borders. To have allowed such a proceeding without obstruction, in the heart of his own country, would have ruined Dacres's popularity. He did not interfere himself, but he gave a hint to two of his brothers, and Scrope had no sooner marched out of Carlisle than he was recalled by the discovery of a plot to seize the castle and murder the bishop, in whose care it had been left. He could not venture to leave his charge with mischie at his own door; though unable to quarrel with Dacres he durs not trust him, and was forced to remain upon the watch.

Thus, if the worst came to the worst, the passage into Sco land was still open, and with the possibility of escape, th irresolution of the earls increased. On the 17th the queen army was at Ripon. Lord Westmoreland still held the for and bridges of the Tees, and there if anywhere a stand was to made. Northumberland had returned to his friends, divided, disheartened, and with dwindled numbers, the re held a council at Durham to decide whether they should figh fly. Westmoreland had some courage, and sufficient sens know that insurrection, if it meant anything, meant ba In the Earl of Northumberland the blood of Hotspur had co to the passive temperature which could suffer but could act. Except for his wife, who never left his side, he would than once have thrown himself upon Elizabeth's cleme and now, with some remains of loyalty about him, he s from crossing swords with the soldiers. He had imagine

promised, you must bear them and do what you may otherwise; some here with us bear glances or overthrusts we must not un them. Neither shall your lordship receive this supply, though b which might have either ended, or at least mitigated, the matte time."—Sir H. Radcliffe to Sussex, December 10: *Cotton MSS* B. ix.

[1] "His wife being the stouter of the two, doth harden and him to persevere, and rideth up and down with the army, so a mare is the better horse."—Hunsdon to Cecil, November 2 *Border*.

he had but to appear in the field for all England to welcome him. He had looked rather for a triumphant procession to London than to a rebellion which was to cost blood. "He had not taken arms to fight against his mistress," he said, but only in defence of his life, and to remonstrate against the misgovernment of his country.

In Percy's weakness the hope of rebellion was for the present ended. Five weeks before, the earls had entered Durham with their priests and banners to reinstate the kingdom of the saints. They had to leave it now in scandalous discomfiture, for the tide of heresy to flow once more behind them. They could not count their cause lost; the majority of the English nation, if measured by numbers, was still enormously in their favour. But for the moment the powers of evil were in the ascendant, and there was nothing left for them to do but to save their lives. The smaller gentlemen made for their homes, trusting to their insignificance to conceal the part which they had taken. The earls and the more conspicuous leaders went off for Liddisdale, and the first act of the great Catholic conspiracy was over.

The queen's troops followed swift on their retreating footsteps. There were now but a few score of them holding together; the two noblemen, their ladies, the Nortons, Markinfield, Swinburn, and their [illegible]
wind swe[illegible]
faces.[1] [illegible]
and doubled back with an intention of hiding among the wolds. But Clinton's cavalry were on the Tyne, led by Sir Edward [illegible]

[illegible]

free use of rope and gallows.[2] At Horsey's side was Thomas

[1] The hard weather lasted into January, and among the minor incidents [illegible]

[illegible]

the house

[2] "Even as they have frowardly and villanously begun a lewd enterprise, so have they beastly and cowardly performed the same [illegible]

Cecil, for whose loose ways his father once thought the Bastile the only cure; and who now "having," as he said, "adventured his carcase" in the queen's service, was looking to fill his pockets from the profits of the expected confiscations.[1] The Yorkshiremen themselves had turned upon the earls in their failure, and were now crying round Clinton, "Hang them that will not live and die with you."[2] There was no possibility of return, and again turning their horses northward, on the night of the 20th the fugitives found shelter and a few hours' rest at Naworth. There, however, there was no remaining for them; Dacres was in no humour to compromise himself for men whose views he disliked and whose rashness and weakness had ruined the Catholic cause. The forlorn party, dwindled now to three ladies and twenty men, were again off before daybreak in the snow, and wind, and darkness.

Across the border they were safe from their English pursuers; but their case was scarcely mended. They had poor hospitality to expect from Murray, and they had to seek a refuge among the outlaws and mosstroopers who had been the companions of the crimes of Bothwell. Black Ormiston, one of the murderers of Darnley, John of the Side, a noted border thief, and others, opened their hiding places to them. But among these vagabonds there was little honour. The regent was at Jedburgh. One of the Elliotts, who was in danger of hanging, and wished to earn his pardon, laid a plot to take them. They were hunted out again, and it was then found that "the Liddisdale men had stolen the ladies' horses." The Countess of Northumberland had to be left behind at John of the Side's house, a place described "as not to be compared to an English dog-kennel." Lord Westmoreland, "to be the more unknown," exchanged his gay dress for the outlaw's greasy breeks and jerkin, and he and his companions spent their Christmas in the caves and peat-holes in the woods of Harlaw and the Debateable Land, till their

of her majesty's army drawing near did so appal their hearts as made them rather yield their heads unto a halter than by fight persist in their vile and detestable quarrel. I beseech Almighty God that her majesty may take such order as the punishment of these rebels may be example to all others in this age. I would not have thought to have found any corner in England where God and the queen is so little acknowledged—the which now by your honour's good order may be redressed."—Edward Horsey to Cecil, December 22: *MSS. Domestic.*

[1] Before the rebellion was over, and without waiting to know what the queen would do, he applied for the administration of the estate of the Nortons.—Thomas Cecil to Sir William Cecil, December 23: *MSS. Domestic.*

[2] Sussex to Cecil, December 22: *MSS. Border.*

more powerful Scottish friends could take measures for their relief.[1]

While Clinton and Warwick were thus hunting the insurgents [illegible]

but he struggled on, doing his best to propitiate her, holding out hopes that if she would make up matters with Spain, Spain would assist her in recovering Calais; and, if he produced little effect upon the queen, he succeeded in seriously alarming the French ambassador. La Mothe Fénelon, to sound perhaps the real intentions of the Spaniards, said to Don Guerau, that if he could do anything to assist the earls he would himself heartily co-operate with him. Don Guerau coldly excused himself;[3] and La Mothe, more afraid than ever that a reconciliation between England and Spain would arise out of the earls' defeat, began in turn to pay court to Elizabeth, and endeavoured to outbid Vitelli in offers of friendship. The English Catholics had made an effort to overthrow the Reformation, and, as a result of it, the ministers of the Catholic powers were contending for the smiles of the heretic sovereign. She knew the value of their advances. She judged rightly that her differences with Spain were deeper rooted than any which could exist with a country which was half of it Huguenot. She remained cold to Chapin. She accepted graciously the advances of La Mothe, and she spoke to him long and confidentially on the condition of Christendom. With tears in her eyes, she protested that she had not deserved the rebellion. For her relations with the Continent, she desired only that neither her own subjects should assist in creating trouble elsewhere, nor French or Spanish Catholics encourage insurrection in England She spoke with horror of bloodshed. Except for her honour's sake, she said, she would have already pardoned the earls, and she hoped they would of themselves abandon their enterprise.

La Mothe observed that while there were differences of religion Europe could never be quiet.

[illegible]

zabeth admitted in answer that between the pope's pre-
ed power to absolve subjects from their allegiance and the
estant theory of the right of subjects to depose their sove-
ns, governments had a bad time before them. It was time
do something, and she would gladly come to some under-
nding with other sovereigns on these matters. As to the
union of Christendom, there was nothing for which she was
ore anxious. There would be no difficulty with her. She
ad told Cardinal Chatillon that whatever he and his party
night think of the abomination of going to mass, she would
herself sooner have heard a thousand than have caused the least
of the million villainies which had been committed on account
of it.[1]

Remarkable words, throwing the truest light now attainable upon the spiritual convictions of Elizabeth. They might be called wise from the modern point of view, to which varieties of religious forms seem like words in different languages expressing the same idea. For men to kill other each about a piece of bread appears, when so stated, the supreme culmination of human folly. Yet Knox and Coligny were, after all, more right than the Queen of England. The idol was nothing, and the thing offered to the idol was nothing; but the mass in the sixteenth century meant the stake, the rack, the gibbet, the inquisition dungeons, the Devil enthroned upon the judgment-seat of th world, with steel, cord, and fire to execute his sentences.

Chapin meanwhile continued to sue for an agreement wi Spain, and made no progress. He offered terms, the details which are not preserved, but terms so favourable to England as be humiliating to the Catholic King. The more pliant Ph appeared the more Elizabeth distrusted him. To make him that she had no fears she discussed each condition with labo prolixity: at length she said she would write to Philip desired the minister to be the bearer of her letter. Chapin permission to send to Alva for advice; the rebellion was m excuse for refusing his request; and, desperate at len effecting anything whatever by negotiation, he found m let Alva know that the English government was inve

[1] "Et quant à chercher l'union de l'Eglise, Dieu sçavoit qu souvent envoyé devers l'Empereur pour l'en soliciter, et qu' randroit jamais opiniastre; mesmes avoit dict à M. le Cardina que quoique on tint en leur religion pour une grande abomina à la Messe, qu'elle aymeroit mieulx en avoir ouy mille que cause de la moindre méchanceté d'ung million qui s'estoien ces troubles."—La Mothe au Roy, December 10: *Dépêch*

hostile, and that without a revolution the two countries could never be brought together again.[1]

It was a conclusion which both Philip and Alva were most reluctant to accept. In Philip's correspondence there is visible an extreme fear lest any representative of Spain should be [illegible]

the side always of order, law, and government. He disapproved of heresy, but it was a question with him whether rebellion was not a greater crime. Such a loose, heedless, and ill-concerted movement as that of the two earls seemed utterly contemptible to him. He owed his success as a general to prudence as well as courage. He was never known to trust to chance in any single point which care could anticipate; and till he saw some effective action among the English Catholics, besides rhetoric and fine promises, he was ill-inclined to risk the presence of his troops among them.[2] Chapin's message reached the ears of La Mothe, and probably therefore the ears of the queen. He was again required to leave the country, and, as the order was persisted in, he was this time obliged to obey. Elizabeth merely told him that when the King of Spain would write to her under his own hand she would be willing to renew the negotiation. Meantime things remained as they were. Alva and Philip kept their hold [illegible]

were choking.

The insurrection having exploded ineffectually, it remained to punish those who had taken part in it. But before relating the measures which the government believed to be necessary, it remains to mention one more cause which had contributed to the failure of the enterprise. So many plans had intercrossed

[1] La Mothe au Roy, December 27. *Depêches*, vol. ii.

[2] An expression of Philip's in one of his letters to Don Guerau shows that he thought particular care was necessary in dealing with English people: he was vain of his knowledge of the national character, and guided himself by consideration of its peculiarities — "Por tanto fue bien no abriros vos con ellos (los Catolicos) ni alargaros a prometerles lo que os pedian, sin remitirlos al Duque, y de la misma manera procedereis en lo que mas occurriese tocante a semejantes materias, por ser de qualidad que requieren tratarse con mucho miramiento y consideracion, y mayormente con los desta nacion que de su natural son sospechosos en todo tiempo y mucho mas en la ocasion presente."—Philip to Don Guerau, December 26: *MSS. Simancas.*

that no two parties understood each other. The Spaniards, the French, the Duke of Norfolk, the Queen of Scots, the council, had all been playing with separate schemes, and the best of the Catholics, who cared simply for the restoration of the faith, had shrunk from risking their cause upon a movement with the purpose of which they were so obscurely acquainted. Lincolnshire, which had been the scene of the first Catholic insurrection against Henry VIII., was found by Lord Clinton entirely apathetic. Yet Lincolnshire had not been converted to the Reformation, and the behaviour of the people there is explained by a singular address from "the knights and gentlemen" of that county to Philip II. It is described as having been largely signed among them, and represents without doubt the feeling of a very large portion of the Catholic party in England.

"They looked to Philip," these persons said, "as the prince who had the chief right to their crown, being at once the most Catholic in himself and the most able to defend and maintain the Catholic religion. He had borne the title of King of England. His name was on the English statute-book, and to him they now looked as their liege lord and sovereign.[1] They entreated his majesty not to suspect or look strangely upon this expression of their feeling towards him. His majesty might already understand their reason for it; but in the service of God and the commonwealth, they would briefly explain themselves.

"Your majesty," they said, "knows well the many rights and titles which are pretended to the crown of this country, and in what peril we all live by reason of them. The succession is claimed by the Earls of Huntingdon and Hertford and other notorious and ambitious heretics, with how little ground, either of justice or strength, appearing manifestly from the quarrels among themselves. Your majesty knows also the right which is pretended by the Queen of Scots, and the many persons among us who support her claim. We acknowledge both her rights and her deserts as a most virtuous and Catholic princess, and we are ready to accept her as our sovereign, if your majesty will place her on the throne, with due securities for the Catholic religion and for the maintenance of the ancient alliance between the houses of Burgundy and England. But we are of opinion that

[1] "Comme le Prince du monde qui tient droict et peult avoir droict et titre à la couronne d'Angleterre, comme le plus Catholique et le plus puissant Prince qui les peult défendre et secourer en la foy Catholique; et en ces deux endroicts ils se submettent leurs vies et biens à Vre. Majté. en toutz respectz et conditions, comme partient à Seigneurs et Noblesse qui tient Vre. Majté. pour leur Prince et Souveraign."

if the Queen of Scots be set up by ourselves only in this island, her majesty may marry some heretic either by compulsion or

this, your majesty may perceive from the purpose of marriage between her and the Duke of Norfolk, while it may be also that she will prefer her old friends in France and Scotland to the prejudice and entire destruction of the connection with the house of Burgundy, which thing we are determined at all costs not to endure.

"The prince, her son, is in the hands of heretics, and is educated in the heretic belief We fear that he cannot be extricated from among them, save on conditions which will be

of Scots die at no distant time, the case is altered The prince, her son, will never be accepted by the Catholics unless your majesty take him under your protection, and unless he becomes himself a Catholic.

"There are other matters also," continued the unknown person [2] by whom the address was sent, "on which it is unnecessary now to weary your majesty. You will see how ardently these gentlemen devote themselves to your highness, in God's service, as their only prince and protector. We desire, and all Catholics for their own safety ought to desire, to see the administration of their country in your majesty's hands. The county which these gentlemen inhabit—their names are in the list which we attach [3]—is called Lincolnshire The position of it by land and sea is convenient, as your majesty will perceive, for any enterprise which you may think proper to direct against

out to your majesty by what means success may be assured, even before you put your hand to the work We pray God it may please your majesty to use the services of all and each of us

[1] "Par amour"

[2] The address was accompanied by a list of names which has not been preserved, and by a letter unsigned also, but professing to be one of the gentlemen by whom it was presented

[3] List not preserved

according to your good will and power, to obtain an end so excellent in itself, so important to the service of God and the common weal of Christendom." [1]

From this document it is evident that distrust of Mary, distrust of Norfolk, and the position of the little James, were paralysing the energies of the Catholics. Unless Spain was openly at their head they would not move, and the collapse of the insurrection requires no further explanation. It did not imply that the Catholics generally were loyal to Elizabeth, but only that at the crisis of their trial they were smitten with confusion. Their faith was no longer a fire at white heat in which the units would fuse together into a compact and harmonious whole, but a cold opinion which left every man to act for himself, subject to all deflections for his special ends, fancies, and temptations.

To return to the border.

The earls having escaped into Scotland, the regent had now to meet the question, what was to be done with them? The rebellion was part of the general disturbance which was agitating both the realms. It had been plotted by the Bishop of Ross; and the Queen of Scots was the centre of it. In Murray's words, "it had branches unknown, extending to the farthest marches of both the realms." [2] Had Elizabeth fallen, Murray would have gone to the scaffold; and little reason as he had for feeling himself under obligations to her, his own interest was as deeply concerned as hers in extinguishing the last sparks of the conflagration.

Elizabeth would now undoubtedly require him to arrest the earls, and circumstanced as he was he would find it no easy matter either to comply or to refuse.

The quarrel with Maitland had seriously shaken his hold on Scotland. The breach between these two men, who had once worked together so cordially, had now widened into an impassable chasm. They had no longer any single aim which they pursued in common.

Murray had but one principle which guided him in all that he undertook. He was heart and soul a Protestant. His feelings as a brother and a certain inbred generosity of temperament

[1] Address in the names of the Knights and Gentlemen of Lincolnshire to Philip II.: *MSS. Simancas*. There is no date upon the MS. It belongs evidently to the year 1569, and was sent probably just before the insurrection, since in the letter there is a paragraph on the services to be expected from the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland.

[2] Murray to Cecil, December 22: *MSS. Scotland*.

had more than once prevented him from consenting to measures

his sister's views upon the English succession; but from the

To Maitland, on the other hand, the Reformation had been

to end the long rivalry in the way most glorious to his own people, and to place a prince of Scotch blood on the throne of the Plantagenets. The person was of little moment to him He had brought the English to Leith in the belief that Elizabeth would marry the Earl of Arran. When Elizabeth refused and

energies

When

pects by

pacify her own people and gratify Scotland through its pride.

But again Elizabeth disappointed him. Her theories of government, her sympathy with Mary Stuart's sufferings, her dread of the misinterpretation of the world if she did not protect her, kept the question of questions still unsettled. Maitland saw or thought he saw that the Queen of Scots must be eventually restored, and the discontent of the English Catholics, of the noblemen, and of the whole nation under an insecure and undetermined succession, opened a new opportunity to him through

scheme

so only

his pow

any age and unexampled in his own—above all the response in every Scotch breast to the aim which he was pursuing—gave him an influence which shook from Murray's side half of the best of his friends. Even the foolish ministers of the kirk he had talked over—poor wretches who if he had succeeded would have been handed over to Alva's Blood Council. Knox only

who in mere worldly sagacity was Maitland's match, had been deaf to his persuasions.[1] He had divided the nobles. He had gained Hume and Athol, and, worse than all, the chivalrous Kirkaldy of Grange. He had fed everywhere a restless expectation of the queen's return; and at length the regent, being determined to check his intrigues, had arrested him, on the evidence of Paris and Crawford, as an accomplice with Bothwell. He demanded his trial, and the 22nd of November was fixed to give him an opportunity "for the declaration of his innocency." He wrote to every friend that he possessed, Catholic and Protestant, to request their presence, and when the day came Edinburgh was thronged with the armed retainers of half-a-hundred knights and noblemen who had come together to throw a shield over their favourite.

The Bishop of Ross and the historians who have followed him have charged Murray with personal ambition in assuming the government of Scotland. Never perhaps was there a position which any reasonable man would have less coveted. English statesmen in their calculation of the future of the country placed his murder among the most likely of contingencies. He had narrowly escaped at Northallerton on his return from the conference. In the past July "Lyon Herald" had "conspired his death" and had been burnt for it.[2] At best he was set to rule the most lawless country in Europe except Ireland, half of it avowedly disaffected, without a revenue, without troops, without a man at his back except his own and his friends' servants. He was held responsible by Elizabeth for the peace of the borders, yet she would not acknowledge him as regent. At every turn of her fancy he was expected to be the instrument of her policy, and to receive his sister back either as his queen, or as his prisoner, as convenience or the humour of the moment happened to dictate. In such a position there was little to envy; and that supreme and commanding integrity, which alone made a tenure of power under such conditions possible, alone could have tempted him to assume it.

Aware of the intended assembly of Maitland's party, he had quietly, with the Earl of Morton's assistance, collected a force large enough for his own protection if they tried to kill him. This done he showed "no misliking of the convocation." He received every one who presented himself with his usual courtesy, but before opening the court he requested them all to meet

[1] Maitland to Mary Stuart, August, 1569, intercepted ciphers: *MSS. Queen of Scots, Rolls House.*

[2] Calderwood.

him in the council room. There he reminded them briefly that when he was in France they had elected him to the regency without his knowledge and against his will. He had sworn to administer justice faithfully during his government, and they on their part had promised to assist him in the execution of his office. They had now assembled in arms to prevent justice from being done, and he desired them to consider whether this was to observe their engagements. He had not interfered with their meeting; he had wished to show them that they could not frighten him; he had now merely to say that their further presence was unnecessary, as the trial would be postponed till it could be fairly conducted.[1]

The lords listened with such patience as they could command. They dispersed quietly, but Murray knew what their attitude boded. If the rebellion of the earls gained head in England, they would immediately revolt. He sent word therefore to Elizabeth that he would assist her to the utmost of his power, and at once went down to the border with all the men that he could collect. Thus it was that he came to be at Jedburgh when the earls arrived in Scotland. The English army had halted on their own frontier, but a demand was sent from Berwick to the regent requiring him to arrest and give them up. By the treaties between the two countries traitors were excluded from protection, but this particular article had never been observed. The Scots were tenacious of their right of asylum, and especially sensitive when England attempted to violate it. The border outlaws, who would plunder a church with the same indifference with which they would sack a farmhouse, drive their neighbours' cattle, or cut his throat, regarded the protection of a fugitive on either side of the line as the one duty of which neglect was disgraceful. To fly in the face of such a feeling would have been extremely dangerous at any time, and at the existing crisis their ordinary jealousies were aggravated by the resentment of party. The Scotts, the Kers, the Maxwells, the Humes, the Hepburns, were all Catholics, all devoted to the Queen of Scots, all sympathisers with the English earls. Murray asked whether he might look for any assistance from Elizabeth to enable him to maintain a regular force. He had no resources of his own for such a purpose "His own life was directly sought," and as things stood it was Elizabeth's interest to uphold him.[2] He might have foreseen the answer

[1] Murray to Cecil, November 22: *MSS. Scotland.*
[2] Murray to Cecil, December 22 (midnight): Ibid.

to such an application. Nevertheless, for the sake of the good cause, with a half consciousness that he was sealing his fate in doing so, he determined to brave the popular feeling, and if he could not give up the earls, at least to make them prisoners. Lady Northumberland had been left behind in the first haste of the flight. Her husband wished to rejoin her, and Hector Armstrong, Hector of Harlaw, whose name was ever after infamous in border story, undertook to guide him. The regent had notice where to look for him, and a party of horse were on the watch. He was taken somewhere in Liddisdale, not without a struggle. Some English borderers tried to rescue him, and Captain Borthwick, who commanded the regent's troops, was killed; but the men did their duty, and the earl was brought safely into Jedburgh.

Westmoreland and the Nortons, it might be thought, could have been taken more easily, for they were close under Murray's hand. Two miles up the valley through which the stream runs from which Jedburgh takes its name, on the crest of a bank which falls off precipitously to the water, stand the remains of Fernihurst, then the stronghold of the Kers. It was on a scale more resembling the feudal castles of the English nobles than the narrow towers in which the lords of Scotland commonly made their homes; and although the bugle-note blown upon the battlements could be heard in the market-place of the town, the laird of Fernihurst offered an asylum to the fugitives, and there the whole party, except Northumberland, was soon collected. The regent sent to demand them. Fernihurst answered that if he wanted them he must come to fetch them, and Murray, who had a strong force with him, made an effort to punish his insolence. But before Murray came in sight of the castle, his men deserted so fast, that out of eight hundred whom he took with him out of Jedburgh he had but two hundred remaining. It was a symptom too alarming to be neglected. Placing Northumberland on horseback in the middle of a party of troopers, he made straight for Edinburgh, and thence transporting him over the Forth, he sent him to occupy the rooms which Mary Stuart had left vacant in the island tower of Lochleven. Nothing could have occurred more unfortunate for the regent's influence; nothing that he could have done could have given him a stronger and more immediate claim on Elizabeth's support. Not the border only but all Scotland was shaken. The national pride was touched, "and there was a universal cry that, cost what it would, the earl

should not be given up. The liberty was broken which should be free to all banished men." [1] Even Morton, who was Murray's main stay, declared that his country was disgraced. "Between Berwick and Edinburgh the regent could not find one man to stand by him," [2] "and where he had ten mortal enemies before, he had now a hundred." Along Tweed and Teviot the indignation rose to madness. The hospitality of the border had been consecrated by the practice of two hundred years,[3] and the fugitives at Ferniburst, who had come there "hunted and dismayed," found themselves suddenly in better case than when they were at Durham, for they had a whole kingdom at their back "bent to succour them." [4] Under these circumstances, if Elizabeth intended to persist in her demand for their extradition, it might have been expected that she would have ordered her army to advance into Scotland to help the regent to execute her wishes. Had she been as conscious as her ministers of the actual humour of England she might perhaps have done so. Northumberland since his capture had spoken freely of the magnitude of the Catholic confederacy. He had threatened the regent with the vengeance of the whole English peerage if he gave him up; and Lord Hunsdon, too conscious of the breadth of the disaffection, warned his mistress that the troubles were not at an end, but only beginning. "She should make no account of money." "If she looked not to the bottom of the matter, the sore would fester and break out worse than ever." "It would fall out to be the greatest conspiracy that had been in the realm for a hundred years." [5] The southern Catholics at that very moment, angry with themselves for their weakness, were concerting fresh measures to renew the struggle. Southampton and Montague sent to the Spanish ambassador to beg him not to accept the earl's discomfiture as an index of their real strength. They desired only that the pope would relieve them of the uncertainty which had divided

[1] [illegible]

Hunsdon to Cecil, January 11.

[4] Hunsdon to Cecil, January 11. *MSS. Border.*

[5] Hunsdon to Cecil, December 29. *Ibid.*

the north.[1] If the pope would excommunicate Elizabeth and absolve them from their allegiance, they would not fail a second time. They would make arrangements beforehand that every man might know what was expected of him. They would then rise everywhere in a single day, and never rest till the Catholic religion was re-established.[2]

Elizabeth, not suspecting, or not choosing to suspect, the extent of treachery that was going on, believed that she could disarm conspiracy by seeming confidence;[3] yet with singular inconsistency, as will be presently seen, she was punishing the least guilty of the northern rebels with a barbarity which could only be excused by her panic. She was bent upon getting the earls into her hands, because she intended to try them and confiscate their estates, and she doubted whether in their absence she could carry their attainder through the House of Lords. At the same time she was quarrelling with the expenses, and quarrelling with the most loyal of her council, whom she accused of having involved her in them. She listened, if she listened at all, to those "back councillors" whom Cecil so much dreaded, and of whom he so unceasingly complained. Still insisting that Murray should deliver Northumberland to her, she insisted at the same time that, as the rebellion was over, her army should be immediately dismissed; and so hasty, so peremptory, she was on this last point, that Sussex was compelled to disband half the troops with no better pay "than fair words and promises," while Scotland was exasperated into fury, and three counties were being driven wild with wholesale executions, which were only so far discriminating that the poorest of the people were chosen to be sufferers.

The opinion of the want of wisdom which Elizabeth was displaying in these matters is not the presumptuous censure of the half-informed modern historian. The disapprobation must have gone deep, when Cecil could have so written about her conduct as to call out the following answer from her own cousin and her most faithful servant Hunsdon:—

[1] "Tan bien me ha dicho el obispo de Ross que los Catolicos de aqui desean que su Santidad con alguna Bulla publicada en parte que aqui se entendiese, los diese libres de juramento que á esta Reyna han hecho, por no ser ella Catolica y intitularse Cabeza desta Iglesia."—Don Guerau to Philip, January 18: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Ibid.

[3] "Let her majesty look well to herself and not think all gold that glitters."—Hunsdon to Cecil, December 29.

LORD HUNSDON TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL[1]

BERWICK, January 15.

"I have received your letter of the 6th with a letter from her majesty touching the Earl of Northumberland and the rebels, whereof you are not ignorant. I was glad of the coming of the letters, because I looked long for them, and secondly, because I hoped for better news than I have therein found, and especially in yours, which hath so appalled me as I am almost senseless, considering the time, the necessity her majesty hath of assured friends, the needfulness of good and sound counsel, and the small care it seems she hath of either. Either she is bewitched, or else this practice of her destruction which was meant should have taken place perforce and by arms, being burst out before the time, being partly discovered and a little overthrown, is meant to be performed by practice and policy. For what nearer way can there be to achieve to this purpose than to discredit her faithfullest counsellors, and to absent her most assured friends from her, whereby they may work all things at their will? I will condemn none, but God send her majesty to have trusty friends about her and to follow good counsel: for although the upper skin of this wound be partly healed, the wound festers, and if it burst out again I fear me it will be past cure. It grieves me to see that her majesty cannot be induced to think well of those that serve her best."

Considering that as yet not a single blow had been struck in the rebellion, and that the active violence had been confined to the bloodless capture of Barnard Castle, the work of vengeance which the council of York were unwillingly compelled to execute had been beyond example cruel. Though the leaders had escaped, many gentlemen had been taken in the looseness of the pursuit, and the prisons at Durham and York were crowded with unfortunates who had straggled back to their homes and had been denounced and arrested. It was the theory of the constitution, sanctioned so far by immemorial custom, that the lands as well as the lives of traitors should be forfeited to the crown. Under the feudal system estates were held under the sovereign in consideration of active duties to be performed by the holder. Although military tenures were lapsing into more immediate and absolute ownership, yet security of property

[1] *Border MSS.*

der the law involved as a matter of course obedience to the
w, and, irrespective of higher considerations, all governments
must be held entitled to indemnify themselves for the expense
of repressing rebellion at the cost of those who have occasioned
it. That the crown in the present instance was entitled to avail
itself of its right was implied in the nature of the case. Rebellions
are never without pretexts which can be pleaded in their justi-
fication. The long peace which the country had enjoyed, the
cessation of state prosecutions in so striking a contrast with
their frequency in the previous reigns, the general prosperity
of England contrasted with the confusion and anarchy of the
continental kingdoms, gave the queen a fair claim upon her
subjects' loyalty. The Catholics had not been permitted the
open exercise of their religion; but there had been no inquisi-
tions, no meddling in private with the rights of conscience, no
revenge for the Marian persecutions. Her sister's bishops had
been deprived and imprisoned for refusing to take the oath
of allegiance, but the government, wherever it had not bee
openly defied, had closed its eyes to the evasion of the la
The country was still full of Catholics, and the Protesta
authorities had been prohibited from indulging their natu
desire to punish them. In fact if not in theory there had b
substantial toleration; and whatever may be thought nov
the prohibition of the mass, the success in modern time
a more generous system is no proof that it would have answ
amidst the passions of the Reformation.

It may be said that so far Elizabeth had governed the co
extremely well and with extreme forbearance. In de
to marry she had indeed severely tried her subjects' pa
and the difficulty of choosing a successor from among th
competitors should have furnished an additional indu
to overcome her natural reluctance. If ever circu
could be conceived which demanded a sacrifice of suc
the prospects of England in the event of Elizabeth's
her in this respect without excuse. Yet towards the
Scots, "the daughter of debate," who was the occas
worst perplexities, she had acted with a weakness
loyal subjects had a right to condemn, but which, ju
at, had left little ground for complaint to the fri
rival. She had saved her life, and she had saved
when she might have spared herself all further tr
account by publishing the proofs of her infamy.
Northumberland and Westmoreland had seen,

and in the rebellion itself had never ventured to challenge, yet they had committed the last and worst form of treason—they had invited a foreign army into the kingdom, imperilling the national independence as well as the throne of the sovereign. There was nothing therefore except its bloodlessness in the circumstances of the rebellion which called for any particular leniency, and those who look back upon such a condition of things from times when the danger from similar combinations has long passed away, are apt to be misled by their natural compassion for sufferers, and from the instinctive sympathy with those who risk and lose their lives in a public cause.

It is equally certain, however, that there may be seen in the conduct of the government at all times, and after all necessary allowance, the working of questionable passions; and the retribution inflicted upon the northern insurgents shows undoubtedly that anger and avarice had for a time overclouded Elizabeth's character.

The complaints of the queen about expense while the rebels were in the field had been incessant. Every letter which Cecil wrote contained some intimation or other of the extreme difficulty of getting money from her. After the flight and dis-

ent down that

ial law,"[1] but

sort" should

suffer in that way. Death by martial law would not touch property, and the object was to make sure of the forfeitures.

Lord Sussex still received "hard constructions" at the court; "he was supposed to have connived at the earls' escape,

was anywhere at a loss he might take

[1] Cecil to Sadler, December 20 *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii.
[2] Cecil to Sadler, December 25.

priests, constables, bailiffs, and others that had held any office."[1] The fish thus netted were then to be sorted into two classes: "of those who had no freeholds, copyholds, nor any substance of lands," a sufficient number were to be selected, and to be immediately hanged by martial law in the parish green or market-place where the rebels had held their assemblies: the servants of any principal insurgent were to suffer also, the scene of their execution being the neighbourhood of their masters' houses; and "the bodies were not to be removed but to remain till they fell to pieces where they hung."

The rest were to be formally tried, that her majesty might be duly assured of her escheats. If "corruption or lucre" prevented a fair verdict—that is to say, if judgment was not given for the crown—the prisoners were not to be released, but the trial adjourned to the Star Chamber.

"For the avoiding of desperation" a proclamation was sent out that any one who was not already taken and would surrender of his own accord might be received to mercy. But it was added that if those who had been culpable should fly from the country they should never receive pardon at all.[2]

The first part of these instructions was immediately acted upon. An indefinite number of unfortunate people were seized, and out of them six or seven hundred artisans, labourers, or poor tenant farmers were picked out for summary execution. Lord Sussex was scrupulous not "to include any person that had inheritance or wealth, for that he knew the law." Those were chosen whose worst crime was that they had followed the gentlemen who by the constitution of the country were their natural leaders, and these, besides "the prisoners taken in the field," were to be distributed about Yorkshire and hanged. "He meant to use such discretion," he said, "as that no sort should escape for example, and that the example should be, as was necessary, very great."[3]

If the seventy persons hanged in hot blood after the fight at Carlisle be not included, the number of persons executed after the Pilgrimage of Grace did not exceed forty, and among those "the common sort" were not represented. The tendency of a government to be harsh is in the ratio of its weakness; and Elizabeth, to whom nothing naturally was more distasteful than

[1] Cecil added in a separate clause: "Some notable example to be made of the priests that have offended in this rebellion."

[2] Notes for the suppression of the rebellion, December 31, 1569.

[3] Sussex to Cecil, December 28: *MSS. Border.*

cruelty, when Sussex's arrangements were made known to her, was only impatient that they should be completed. There had been some delay, perhaps in determining the spots where the executions were to be. She wrote on the 11th of January that "she somewhat marvelled that she had as yet heard nothing from Sussex of any execution done by martial law as was appointed." She required him, "if the same was not already

[illegible]

suspicions of disloyalty. Before the letter reached him the victims had been made over to the provost marshal. Sir George Bowes, who had undertaken to superintend the process, was stringing them leisurely upon the trees in the towns and village greens. Eighty were hanged at Durham, those chiefly who had taken a part in the Catholic jubilee at the cathedral. Forty suffered at Darlington, and twenty of Bowes's own deserters on the walls at Barncastle. It is some relief to find that the wives and children of those who were executed "were favourably dealt with;" orders were given that "not only they should have no cause to complain, but should be satisfied"—whatever that might mean.[2] But the hanging business itself went on rapidly and mercilessly; "the lingering bred offence;" and on the 23rd of January, Bowes reported that he had put to death "about six hundred" besides those who had been disposed of by Sussex.

Among contemporary engravings representing the condition of Europe at this period, may be seen pictures, intended to excite the pity and the passions of the Protestants, of the scenes in the French and Flemish towns when they were taken by the Catholic troops. There is death in all its horrors, men torn in pieces by

[illegible]

seemingly infinite numbers as far as the eye can follow them down the narrowing streets. Twenty Huguenots were murdered in France for every Catholic in England. But in those northern villages there were spectacles of the same description. The difference was in the degree of the cruelty not in its kind. Sir George Bowes reported "that the people were in marvellous

[1] Elizabeth to Sussex, January 11 *MSS Border*
[2] Bowes to Sussex, January 8 *Memorials of the Rebellion*

fear," and that the authors of the rebellion were cursed on every side.[1] But it was a fear which was accompanied with no sense of deserved suffering. Their condition, as described by a correspondent of Cecil's, was rather one of "mad desperation," and a passionate prayer for some turn of fortune which would give them their chance of revenge. They saw the gentlemen who were the occasions of the mischief spared—they knew not why. They saw themselves hunted down and destroyed as if they were wolves, and the effect of "the example" was only to increase the likelihood of another insurrection.[2]

Still Elizabeth was not satisfied. She seemed possessed by a temper unlike any which she ever displayed before or after. When the martial law was over she ordered the council of York "to attaint all offenders that might be gotten by process or otherwise;" till at length the crown prosecutor, Sir Thomas Gargrave, was obliged to tell her that if she were obeyed "many places would be left naked of inhabitants;" "the poor husbandman, if he was not a great Papist, could become a good subject," and she would do well to grant a general pardon from which only a certain number should be excepted.[3]

The turn of those came next who had property to be escheated and who were therefore to be dealt with less precipitately. With these an unexpected difficulty arose from the palatinate rights of the Bishop of Durham. There was a fear that the forfeitures within "the bishoprick" would fall to the see; and Sussex, wishing to so manage matters that the queen "should take a good and a long breath upon these northern gentlemen's lands," suggested that she should either "compound with the bishop for his royalties," or else translate him to some other diocese, when, in the vacancy of the see, "all would grow to her majesty."[4]

Elizabeth would not have allowed a bishop to stand between her and "her commodity," and had the law stood as was at first supposed, she would have found her way through it somehow.

[1] Sir George Bowes to Ralph Bowes, January 23: *Memorials of the Rebellion*.

[2] "Though many have suffered and many are shorn to the bare pilch, yet because few or none of the gentlemen have tasted of judgment who only were the incentors to all, the danger is rather doubled than in any respect foredone."— —— to Cecil, February 6: *MSS. Border*. In Northumberland, where Warwick commanded, there was comparative mercy. In Yorkshire and Durham the Catholics flattered themselves "that the execution of so many poor men had hardened and exasperated the rest." —La Mothe, January 21: *Dépêches*, vol. ii.

[3] Sir T. Gargrave to Cecil, February 6: *MSS. Border*.

[4] Sussex to Cecil, December 25: Ibid.

But Sussex, it seems, was mistaken. Pilkington ventured a faint plea for himself. The queen ordered him back to his duties, from which he had fled at the outbreak of the rebellion, and the law authorities ruled that in cases of high treason, by the 25th of Edward III., "all forfeitures of escheats, in all places and under all circumstances, belonged to the crown." [1]

This objection being disposed of, a special commission sat at York, and the trials began. The most important of the prisoners were carried to London that their examinations might be taken by the council before their execution. Of the rest, a number of gentlemen were tried, of whom eleven were found guilty. Four of these were immediately put to death; seven were recommended to mercy for reasons which might not have been anticipated, but which, when mentioned, become intelligible.

The first, Henry Johnson, had married a daughter of old Norton. He was described as "a simple person abused by his wife;" but he was not to be spared for "his simplicity." His estates were settled on his wife, "so that by his life the queen would have his lands, and by his death his wife would have them."

Two others, Leonard Metcalf and Richard Claxton, were in the same predicament. They were both men of hitherto blameless conduct, but the argument in their favour was that the government would lose by their execution.

John Markinfield, a boy under twenty, was attainted "only to bring his title to his brother's lands to the queen" [2] "It was not meant that he should die, for that he had no land."

Ralph Coniers was a Protestant who had been led into the rebellion only by loyalty to the Earl of Westmoreland He had only a life interest in his estates.

Richard Lambert, alone out of the seven, the queen was advised to spare on the fair ground of good character.

The most singular argument for clemency was that which was urged in behalf of the last—Astolph Cleisby he had no property, and there was thus no special incentive for his execution; Lord Hunsdon's son, Henry Carey, once thought of for the Queen of Scots, was a suitor for one of the three daughters and coheiresses of Lord Coniers. It was conceived that Cleisby, "being

[1] *Border MSS*, February 19, 1570

[2] The elder Markinfield, who had been one of the [illegible]

in great credit with all the sisters," "might assist if his life was spared in bringing about the match."[1]

After some hesitation Elizabeth admitted the recommendations, and all the seven were spared.[2] Two sons of old Norton and two of his brothers, after long and close cross-questioning in the Tower, were tried and convicted at Westminster. Two of these Nortons were afterwards pardoned. Two, one of whom was Christofer, the poor youth who had been bewitched by the fair eyes of the Queen of Scots at Bolton, was put to death at Tyburn with the usual cruelties.

But so far, after all, the queen had gained but little. The principles on which the gentlemen had been dealt with had not tended to satisfy the commons as to the equity of an administration which had hanged the poor without mercy, and spared the rich who misled them, when anything was to be gained by their lives; while the owners of the great estates which were to repay the expenses of the army were safe within the Scottish borders.

If they escaped abroad the queen could not touch their lands without an Act of Parliament, and in the way of this there would be difficulties which she was earnest to avoid. She again wrote therefore to demand them of Murray; but Murray, had he been willing to comply, was evidently without the power, and she had to think of other means. If force was costly, treachery might be cheap. Sir Robert Constable has been seen once in the discharge of his dishonourable office. Still maintaining the character of a concealed friend, he followed his cousin to Fernihurst, where he was warmly received by the laird and all the party. Both Westmoreland and old Norton complained of the cowardice of the southern Catholics; and Constable, whose business was to tempt them if possible to come back to England and sue for their pardons, humoured their discontent, and began cautiously to suggest that, instead of trusting to rebellion, they should try some other plan. Westmoreland was proud of his birth, proud of his honourable house, and he shrank with English sensitiveness from a taint upon his scutcheon. It was easy to persuade him that he would be of more use to the cause which he had at heart, by working legitimately by the side of his friends at home, than by staying abroad and waiting for revolution, or by intriguing to bring foreign armies upon the soil of his country. Westmoreland was soft and weak. "The tears overhailed his cheeks

[1] Proceedings of the Commission at York: *Memorials of the Rebellion.*

[2] It is interesting to observe that Henry Carey did not, after all, obtain the object of his wishes.—DUGDALE, vol. ii. p. 291: *Article* CONIERS.

abundantly." Norton appeared equally penitent. They both thought it might be better for them "to take their chance by voluntary surrender than to risk being taken." The moment for the temptation was well chosen. Westmoreland had reason to doubt the continued hospitality of Fernihurst. He had been [illegible] daughter [illegible] of the [illegible] "hide [illegible] their submission, craving nothing but life." He offered them "his own guides," "border outlaws, who would not betray any man that trusted in them for all the gold in Scotland or in France." He even said in his generosity, "that he would receive them in his own home, where they might be sure of such safety as he could provide; for if they were taken he would hang at their side."

They required a few hours to consider. To support his character, Sir Robert spent the night at a house in Jedburgh, which was the haunt of the most desperate men upon the borders. The place was thronged with them. They were playing at cards when he came in, "some for drink, some for hardheads." [1] He sat down at the game. They were talking of the regent. "They wished they had Hector of Harlaw's head to be eaten among them at supper," and as to Murray, "some said he could not, for the honour of his country, deliver the earls, if he had them both, unless the queen was restored," others that, "if he would agree to that change, the borderers would start up and reive both queen and lords from him, for the like shame was never done in Scotland." [2] The next morning he saw Westmoreland again. Neither he nor Norton had made up their minds. The earl said he could not leave Fernihurst without making the laird some present for his hospitality. He desired Constable to go to the countess, who was still in England, and ask her to give him some choice jewel, with which he could return to Jedburgh. After that he gave him hopes that he would follow his advice, and Sir Robert went back over the moors, "the extremest day of wind and snow that ever he did ride in," to make the necessary arrangements with his employers.

"Although," he wrote to Sir Ralph Sadler, describing what he had done—"Although it was a traitorous kind of service

[1] A small coin.
[2] Constable to Sadler, January 12. *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii.

hat he was wading in to trap them that trusted in him, as Judas
id Christ, yet, to prevent the ills which might come of their
iberty, neither kindred nor affection should withhold him to
allure them to come to submission. He hoped the queen would
pardon their lives. Should it turn to the effusion of their blood,
his conscience would be troubled all the days of his life." At all
events, he trusted that they would not be seized while under his
own roof. There would be opportunities to take them upon the
road; he could "turn the ball into the warden's lap." But
his secret must be kept; "sooner than his doings should be
known, he would rather be torn every joint from other." If
the earl and Norton changed their minds, the laird of Fernihurst
was poor and covetous. He was jealous of Westmoreland, and
he had those about him "that might persuade him to do any-
thing for profit." "A thousand pounds wisely bestowed would
effect more than ten thousand men."[1]

Lord Hunsdon, it seems, had no inclination for dealings of this
kind. He never ceased to urge that the queen should "more
regard her honour than her purse." Sooner or later she would
be obliged to send troops into Scotland, or "receive the shame
to have her rebels kept whatever she could do."[2] Sadler, how-
ever, sent Constable's letter on to the court; Cecil showed it to
the queen; and after receiving her instructions, he replied tha
Constable was to be encouraged to proceed. "Her majesty,"
he said, "will have him secretly dealt withal to prosecute hi
enterprise, to train the rebels to his house, or otherwise to som
place in England where they may be so apprehended as he ma
escape the imputation of any crime. The rather for the cove
ing of the enterprise, he (Constable) may also be apprehende
and be outwardly charged with offences against her majesty, a
in so doing her majesty commands me to assure you he shall
largely rewarded." "If this enterprise cannot take effect, th
her majesty would he should make offer of money to som
Scotland for apprehending of them, and whatever you s
warrant him to offer, not being above £1000, it shall be perform
her majesty is very desirous to have these noysome ver
taken."[3]

"The less the sum be," wrote Sadler, in sending the ord
to Constable, "the better service shall you do, and the gr
will be your own reward. Her majesty doth take your se

[1] Constable to Sadler, January 12: *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii.
[2] Hunsdon to Cecil, January 22: *MSS. Border*.
[3] Cecil to Sadler, January 18: *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii.

in good and thankful part; her highness's pleasure is that you proceed in that you have begun."[1]

But Elizabeth was not permitted to soil her fame with successful treachery. Before Constable could return to his villain work, a darker treason had struck a nobler victim; and in the outburst of anarchy which followed in Scotland, she learnt the lesson which Hunsdon had laboured in vain to teach her.

The Earl of Murray was as conscious as Cecil that the interests of Scotland and England could not be separated. It was as essential to the stability of the throne of Elizabeth that his own regency should be maintained, as it was to himself that the Catholic noblemen should fail in their intended revolution.

the terms which Elizabeth had hitherto imposed—to do what

of his country was to expose himself to almost certain destruction by exasperating the national jealousy of the most sensitive people in the world

Such relations between them could not last, and it was high time that Elizabeth should know it. To her last demand for the extradition of the refugees the regent replied by sending his

leven, her escape, and the battle at Langside. The flight into England had followed, and afterwards the practices of the queen to sow sedition, to maintain Papists, to pretend title to the crown, to marry with the Duke of Norfolk, and to be restored to her own government, while Murray himself had been forced to despair of the favour of the queen's majesty, "by means

gland, as

regency

[1] Sadler to Constable, January 23: *Sadler Papers*.

Langside she was to have repaid their service by marrying the Abbot of Arbroath.

A steady indifference to every interest but their own, a disregard of every obligation of justice or honour, if they could secure the crown of Scotland to their lineage, had given a consistency to the conduct of the Hamiltons beyond what was to be found in any other Scottish family. No scruples of religion had disturbed them, no loyalty to their sovereign, no care or thought for the public interests of their country. Through good and evil, through truth and lies, through intrigues and bloodshed, they worked their way towards the one object of a base ambition.

Murray was the great obstacle. With Murray put out of the way the little James would not be long a difficulty. For the present and for their immediate convenience they were making use of Mary Stuart's name, as she for her own purposes was making use of theirs. The alliance would last as long as was convenient, and at this point they were united in a common desire for the regent's death.

Bothwellhaugh had been taken at Langside. His life was forfeited, and he had been pardoned by Murray, against the advice of those who knew his nature and the effect which generosity would produce upon him. His lands had been escheated and taken possession of, his family were removed from his house, and picturesque visions of a desolate wife driven out into the woods to wander shelterless have served in the eyes of Mary Stuart's admirers to justify the vengeance of a half-maddened husband. But the story rests on legend. Such indeed had been the actual fate of Lady Murray when Mary Stuart was in the flush of her successes after her marriage with Darnley; but the Castle of Hamilton was large enough to receive the household of so near a kinsman of its chiefs, and Bothwellhaugh was the willing instrument of a crime which had been concerted between Mary Stuart's followers and the sons of the Duke of Chatelherault. Assassination was an accomplishment in his family. John Hamilton, a notorious desperado, who was his brother or near relative, had been employed in France to murder Coligny, and, singularly enough, at that very moment Philip II., who valued such services, had his eye upon him as a person who might be sent to look after—so Philip pleasantly put it—the Prince of Orange.[1] The cavalier would have taken

[1] "Caias me ha dicho de parte de V. Magd. que mire si seria á proposito este Cabellero Escoces para enviarle á buscar al Principe de Orange. El

with the utmost kindliness to the occupation, but his reputation for such atrocities was so notorious that Philip was advised to choose some one against whom the prince would be less likely to be upon his guard.[1]

Edinburgh not offering convenient opportunities, an intimation was brought to Murray that if he would go to Dumbarton Lord Fleming was ready to surrender the castle. He went as far as Glasgow but only to find that he had been misled,

dicho Cabellero es tenido por animoso mucho, y ha lo mostrado en dos cosas particulares que se le han encommendado, que siendo muy difficultosas las ha hecho muy redondes, y creo que con solo ponerle yo en que fuese á buscarle, sin que entendiese que es Voluntad de V. Magd.

On the 23rd of September, 1573, Bothwellhaugh wrote thus from

trial

and he returned after a few days to Stirling. Bothwellhaugh had been on the watch for him at more than one spot upon the road, but he had been unable to make certain of his aim, and he did not mean to risk a failure. Circumstances requiring the regent's presence again in Edinburgh, he left Stirling on the afternoon of the 22nd of January, and that night slept at Linlithgow. The town then consisted of one long narrow street. Four doors beyond the regent's lodgings was a house belonging to the Archbishop of St. Andrew's which was occupied by one of his dependants. From the first landing place a window opened upon the street, the staircase leading directly down from it to the back garden, at the end of which was a lane. A wooden balcony ran along outside the house on a level with the window. It was railed in front, and when clothes were hung upon the bars, they formed a convenient screen behind which a man could easily conceal himself. Here on the morning of the 23rd couched Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. The Abbot of Arbroath had lent him his own carbine; the best horse in the stables of Hamilton Castle was at the garden gate in the lane, a second was waiting a mile distant, and any one who rode down the street in the direction of Edinburgh would have to pass within three yards of the assassin's hiding-place. The secret had not been kept with entire fidelity. Some one, it was not known who, came to Murray's bedside before he rose, told him that Bothwellhaugh was lying in wait for him, and named the house where he would be found.[1] But Murray was the perpetual object of conspiracies. He received similar warnings probably on half the days on which he went abroad. He had made up his mind to danger as part of his position, and he had ceased to heed it. He had no leisure to think about himself, and whether he lived or died was not of vital moment to him. He paid just sufficient attention to the warning to propose to leave the town by the opposite gate; but when he came out and mounted his horse, he found his guard drawn up and the street not easily passable in that direction, and he thought too little about the matter to disturb them. It was said that he would have started at a gallop. But the people were all out to look at him. To have ridden fast through the crowd would have been dangerous, and so at a foot's pace he passed in front of Bothwellhaugh. To miss him so was impossible.

The shot was fired—he put his hand to his side and said that

[1] Hunsdon to Cecil, January 26: *MSS. Border.* Compare CALDERWOOD and BUCHANAN.

upon the rail concealed the smoke, and minutes passed before the window was discovered from which the shot had been fired. Parties of men were on guard in the lane to defend him if he was in danger; but their help was not required, and in a few hours he himself had brought the news of his success to Hamilton Castle, where he was received with an ecstasy of exultation.[1] Thence a day or two after he made his way to France, to be employed as the reader has seen, to receive the thanks of Mary Stuart, and to live upon the wages of this and other villainies.[2]

The regent did not at first believe that he was seriously hurt, but on examination of the wound, it was seen that he had but a few hours to live. His friends in their bitter grief reminded him of the advice which he had neglected after Langside. He said calmly that "he could never repent of his clemency." With the same modest quietness with which he had lived he made his few arrangements He commended the king to Sempell anc' [illegible]
any man,"

Many a [illegible]
British nation. It is a question whether among them all there can be found any which was more useless to its projectors or more mischievous in its immediate consequences. It did not bring back Mary Stuart It did not open a road to the throne to the Hamiltons, or turn back the tide of the Reformation It [illegible]

his life, his memory has been sacrificed to sentimentalism, and those who can see only in the Protestant religion an uprising of Antichrist, and in the Queen of Scots the beautiful victim of

[1] Information anent the regent's murder, February, 1570 *MSS. Scotland.*

[2] [illegible] les memoires que me doivent estre envoyez de la recepte de mon douaire pour faire mon estat, où je n'oublyerav la pension dudict Bothwellhaugh." —LABANOFF, vol. iii p. 341

sectarian iniquity, have exhausted upon Murray the resources of eloquent vituperation, and have described him as a perfidious brother building up his own fortunes on the wrongs of his injured sovereign. In the eyes of theologians, or in the eyes of historians who take their inspiration from theological systems, the saint changes into the devil and the devil into the saint as the point of view is shifted from one creed to another. But facts prevail at last, however passionate the predilection; and when the verdict of plain human sense can get itself pronounced, the "good regent" will take his place among the best and greatest men who have ever lived.

Measured by years his career was wonderfully brief. He was twenty-five when the English were at Leith; he was thirty-five when he was killed. But in times of revolution men mature quickly. His lot had been cast in the midst of convulsions when, at any moment, had he cared for personal advantages, a safe and prosperous course lay open to him; but so far as his conduct can be traced, his interests were divided only between duty to his country, duty, as he understood it, to God, and affection for his unfortunate sister. France tried in vain to bribe him, for he knew that the true good of Scotland lay in alliance and eventual union with its ancient enemy; and he preferred to be used, trifled with, or trampled on by Elizabeth to being the trusted and valued friend of Catherine de Medici. In all Europe there was not a man more profoundly true to the principles of the Reformation, or more consistently—in the best sense of the word—a servant of God. His house was compared to "a holy temple," where no foul word was ever spoken. A chapter of the Bible was read every day after dinner and supper in his family. One or more ministers of the kirk were usually among his guests, and the conversation chiefly turned on some serious subject. Yet no one was more free from sour austerity. He quarrelled once with Knox, "so that they spoke not together for eighteen months," because his nature shrunk from extremity of intolerance, because he insisted that while his sister remained a Catholic she should not be interdicted from the mass. The hard convictions of the old Reformer were justified by the result. The mass in those days meant intrigue, conspiracy, rebellion, murder, if nothing else would serve; and better it would have been for Mary Stuart, better for Scotland, better for the broad welfare of Europe, if it had been held at arms' length while the battle lasted, by every country from which it had once been expelled. But the errors of Murray—if it may be so said of any

errors—deserved rather to be admired than condemned. In the later differences which arose between him and the queen, he kept at her side so long as he could hold her back from wrong. [illegible] through personal resentment from the even tenor of his course.

Afterwards, when his sister turned aside from the pursuit of thrones to lust and crime, Murray took no part in the wild revenge which followed. He withdrew from a scene where no honourable man could remain with life, and returned only to save her from judicial retribution. Only at last when she forced upon him the alternative of treating her as a public enemy or of abandoning Scotland to anarchy and ruin, he took his final post at the head of all that was good and noble among his countrymen, and there met the fate which from that moment was marked out for him

As a ruler he was severe but inflexibly just. The corruption which had begun at the throne had saturated the courts of law. In the short leisure which he could snatch from his own labours he sat on trials with the judges; and "his presence struck such reverence into them that the poor were not oppressed by false accusations, nor tired out by long attendance, nor their causes put off to gratify the rich." He had his father's virtues without his father's infirmities; and so with such poor resources as he could command at home, with hollow support from England, and concentrating upon his own person the malignity of political hatred and spurious sentiment, he held on upon his road till the end came, and he was taken away

Scotland was struck to the heart by his death. The pathetic intensity of popular feeling found expression in a ballad which was published at Edinburgh immediately after Murray's death. It was written probably by Robert Lord Sempell, on whose arm he leant after he was wounded [1]

[1] The Exhortatioun to all pleasand thingis quhairin man can haif delyte to withdraw thair plesur from mankynde, and to deploir the cruell Murther of umquhile my Lord Regentis Grace

> Ye Mountaines murne, ye valayis wepe,
> Ye clouds and Firmament,
> Ye fluids dry up, ye seyis so depe,
> Deploir our lait Regent.

The strife of faction was hushed in the great grief which fell on all in whom generous feeling was not utterly extinguished. Those who had been loudest in their outcries against him were shamed by his loss into forgetfulness of their petty grievances, and desired only to revenge a crime which had a second time brought dishonour upon their country. A party of Hamiltons appeared in Edinburgh the day after the murder, expecting to be received with enthusiasm and to have the castle gates thrown open to them; they found Grange and Maitland and Lord Hume in council with Morton, and themselves the object of universal indignation and rage. Bothwellhaugh had been nothing but the tool of his race. In such a case it was said neither "order of law" nor form was necessary; "war should be declared against

Ye greinis grow gray, ye gowanis dune,
  Ye hard rocks ryve for sorrow:
Ye mariguildis forbid the sune
  To oppin yow euerie morrow.

Thow Lauand lurk, thow Time be tint,
  Thow Margelene swaif,
Thow Camomylde, ye balme and mint,
  Your fragrant odouris laif.
Ye Baselik and Jonet flouris,
  Ye Gerofleis so sweet:
And Violatis hap you with schouris
  Of hailstaines, snaw, and sleit.

Thow grene Roismary hyde thy heid,
  Schaw not thy fair blew blumis:
In signe of dule lat na grene blaid
  On Lowraine grow or brwmis.
Ye fruitfull treis produce na frute:
  And ye fair Rois treis widder:
In earth ye sweit flouris take na rute,
  But wallow altogidder.

Cum Nettilis, thornie breiris and rew,
  With all foull filthie weid,
Now plant yow quhair their sweit flouris grew
  And place yow in their steid.
Ye pleasant byrdis lat be your sang,
  Your mirth in murning turne,
And tak the Turtill yow amang
  To leirne yow how to murne.

Thow luifsum Lark and gay Goldspink,
  Thow mirthful Nychtingaill,
Lat be your heuinly notes and think
  His deith for to bewaill.
Ye pleasand Paun and Papingaw,
  Cast off your blyithlyke cullour,
And tak the feddrum of the Craw
  In signe of wo and dolour.

the whole house of Hamilton, and they should be extirpated root and branch." [1] "The murder was so odious," wrote Lord Hunsdon, "and the death so lamented with every honest man, as, where there were great factions grown and many private quarrels among them, they were all presently reconciled, and had avowed the revenge." "Grange would spend life and goods in the quarrel." Elizabeth "might frame the lords as she would, and have of them what she listed, so they might know her full resolution what they might trust to," so she would rid them

> Now burne thyself, O Phœnix fair,
> Not to reuive againe,
> That we may him to thee compair,
> Quhais lyke dois not remaine.
> Thow Pelican, prepare thy beik
> And grinde it scharpe and lang,
> To peirs our breistis that we may seik
> How to reuenge this wrang.
>
> All birdis and beistis, all hillis and holtis,
> All greinis and plesand treis,
> [illegible]
>
> Ye instruments of euerie sort,
> That gaif to mankynde plesure,
> Now turne your melodie and sport
> In murning and displesure
> Ye Sone and Mone, and Planetis sevin,
> Ye glystring starris bricht,
> All ye celestiale hoste of heuin
> Absconce yow from mens sicht.
>
> Ye Yeirs and monethis, dayis and houris,
> Your naturall course withdraw,
> In Somer time be winter schouris,
> Sleit, hailstaines, frost and snaw
> For why, sum men dois trauell now
> To turne all upsyde downe,
> And als to seik the maner how
> To reif the King his crowne
>
> We had ane Prince of gude renoun,
> That Justice did desyre,
> [illegible]

[1] Notes of proceedings on the death of the regent, February, 1570: *MSS. Scotland.*

finally of the fear with which they were all possessed, that sooner or later, for her own convenience, she would reinstate the deposed queen.[1] Even Maitland himself, far gone as he was in intrigue and conspiracy, reopened his disused correspondence with Cecil. He, too, like the rest, had been so persuaded that Mary Stuart would come back upon them, that she would triumph at last through Elizabeth's weakness, that he had cast his fortunes upon her side. Even now at this supreme hour he was ready to return to his old policy, and carry half Scotland with him, if Elizabeth would understand her own mind and adhere to any definite resolution.[2]

On Elizabeth herself the blow told with terrible power. Whether or no she felt remorse for her own behaviour to Murray, his murder brought home those realities of assassination which had long floated before her as a dream. Never again, she well knew it, would she find another Scot so true to England; never another whose disinterestedness she could try to the uttermost, who would work for her without help or reward or acknowledgment, and whose constancy she could never exhaust. "His death," she passionately exclaimed, "was the beginning of her own ruin." [3] "She had lost her truest friend." "There was none like him in the world"—"none," she admitted it now—"so useful to herself." [4]

The French ambassador feared that in her first alarm she would make short work with the Queen of Scots. That Mary Stuart and the Bishop of Ross had been privy to the earls' rebellion had become every day more clear to her. That the regent's murder came from the same hand, she had too keenly conjectured; and although she declared that if the Queen of Scots tried to murder her as well as her brother, her life should be in no danger,[5] yet Elizabeth's fine speeches were not always

[1] Hunsdon to Elizabeth, January 20: *MSS. Border.* "Assure yourself," he added, "if you do not take heed of that Scottish queen she will put you in peril, and that ere it be long, for there are many practices abroad."

[2] Maitland to Cecil, January 26: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i.

[3] "Ha le sentido esta Reyna mucho, y hizó ayer grandes exclamaciones, diciendo que esto seria el principio de su ruina."—Don Guerau to Philip, January 30.

[4] "Il n'est pas à croire combien ladicte Dame a vifvement senty la mort dudict de Moray; pour laquelle s'estant enfermée dans sa chambre elle a escryé avecques larmes qu'elle avoit perdu le meilleur et le plus utille amy qu'elle eut au monde pour l'ayder à se maintenir et conserver en repos."—La Mothe Fénelon au Roy, February 17. *Dépêches*, vol. ii.

[5] "Que quand ladicte Reyne d'Escoce auroit bien machiné de la faire tuer d'ung coup de haquebutte, elle pourtant ne consentiroit jamais qu'on touchât ny à sa vie ny à sa personne."—Ibid.

to be depended upon, and the rebellion, quickened by Murray's
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
into Northumberland with Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, and ventured down even within sight of Newcastle; and worse than this followed, which might have almost roused Elizabeth at last out of her incurable infirmity of purpose. She could decide when she would have done better to hesitate, when it was a question of the execution of a few hundred poor men. Where her crown might be forfeited by uncertainty, she was paralysed by incapacity of resolution. It might have been thought that towards Scotland, with such a chance re-opened to her, she would have acted energetically at last. When she recovered from her alarm sufficiently to move, it was to take a step which showed the Scots that they had no more to hope from her than before.

Thomas Randolph, who had so long and faithfully served her at Edinburgh, was recalled from his retirement and sent back to his old place. His instructions were to renew old friendships, and to use the present humour of the people to knit together again the English party. but the lords were to be used collectively as the regent had been used before, they were to give all and receive nothing Randolph was told to urge them in the old tone "to maintain religion," "to keep the prince safe in Scotland, and admit no French troops among them;" if, however, they pressed to know in return what Elizabeth would do for them, he was forbidden to commit her to anything. He was to give such a general answer "as neither they should be discouraged with doubt of her favour nor boldened to unreasonable and overhard demands"[1] Had no principles been at work among the Scots which in some degree had neutralised Elizabeth's behaviour to them, she would have worn out their patience, and she would not have had a friend left to herself or England north of Tweed. The actual effect was more than sufficiently disastrous, and meanwhile she had to encounter the last phase of her own northern insurrection.

The name of Leonard Dacres had appeared more than once in the examinations of the prisoners. The fugitives, in resentment at his apathy, had spoken freely of his previous connection with them, and their words had been carried to Berwick to Hunsdon. Old Norton said that if the queen knew the part

[1] Elizabeth to Sir R. Sadler, January 29: *MSS. Scotland.*

which he had played she would hang him sooner than any one; a letter had been found upon a servant of the Bishop of Ross in which he was compromised; and Elizabeth, indignant at having been deceived by his smooth speeches, ordered Sussex to take him and send him back to London. It was easier to command than to execute. Lord Dacres, as in the north he was universally called, by lighting a couple of beacon fires could collect four thousand men about him in a few hours, hardy yeomen and their servants seasoned in the furnace of the border wars, whose fealty was to the Lord of Naworth, and who were loyal to the queen only when the Dacres was loyal himself. Naworth Castle contained some hundreds of armed retainers. The border was but ten miles distant, and two hours' gallop would bring down a flight of mosstroopers from Liddisdale. He had cannon and powder; he was rich and had been long prepared; and situated as he was, he could fight if it served his purpose or fly to Scotland if flight was convenient. To arrest him required a small army, and, infuriated as the people were by the executions, it was a difficult and half desperate enterprise.

Sussex on receiving the queen's order replied, that as she had been pleased to order her troops to be disbanded, he had no force at his disposition and could not at once obey her. Elizabeth, who did not choose to be contradicted, and was brave when bravery was out of place, wrote again that she would take no excuses. The will, she implied, was more wanting than the power, and she bade Sussex set about the business without another word.

"All actions," he said to Cecil in answer, "were so hardly interpreted, that every man was afraid to do or advise further than was plainly directed." He did not mean to disobey the queen, he was only unwilling to attempt what without help he could not possibly accomplish. Hunsdon, who was called on to co-operate, said plainly that before fresh work was required of the few men that were left to him, the queen had better send some money to pay up the arrears of their wages; and both Hunsdon and Sadler, who was still with him at Berwick, believed that there were scoundrels about Elizabeth who were purposely misleading her with advice which they hoped might be fatal to her.[1] Her orders being peremptory, they consulted Lord

[1] —— to Cecil, February 6, from Berwick. The writer, whoever he might be, was living with Hunsdon and Sadler, and was on terms of intimacy with Cecil. Another passage in his letter gives a vivid picture of the feelings with which the crisis was regarded by those who wished Elizabeth well. "I know they shoot chiefly at the life of the queen's

Scrope at Carlisle. Lord Scrope, with a faint hope that Dacres might save them trouble by submission, invited him to come to Carlisle Castle. He answered from Naworth that he was ill and could not leave his bed, and Scrope at once agreed with the rest, that his arrest could not be ventured safely without troops from the south. For himself, he said that if he raised the whole county of Cumberland, the people would not serve against the Dacres, and if it came to blows they would take the Dacres' side.[1]

Spies reported that Naworth was full of men and was provisioned for many weeks. There were cannon on the corner turrets. The castle was protected on one side by a moat, on the other by a deep ravine that sunk precipitously from the foot of the walls. The country was utterly bare, and there was no shelter anywhere to cover an approach. The armoury at Carlisle was practically empty, there were a few old honeycombed guns there, but without carriages and unfit for service. There were no troops left between Berwick and Carlisle beyond the ordinary border guard, and Westmoreland and Buccleuch were for ever in the field, d [illegible] and threatening to b [illegible] ie panting into Berwick [illegible] n fermenting. The rebels had sworn "to hang the prebendaries," "whereof they were so affeared that they were ready to fly out of the country."[2] The communication along the marches was unsafe. Buccleuch, Herries, Maxwell, Lochinvar, and many other Scots sent word to Dacres to hold his ground and they

[illegible]

Judas non dormit, Simon incendia miscet.

Remember the counsel of Sextus Tarquinius. So long as they remain as they do, look for no quietness. And if they get liberty, look not long to live Well warned well armed"

[1] *Scrope to Cecil, January 31; Scrope to Hunsdon, February 3: MSS. Border.*

[2] Hunsdon to Cecil, February 7: Ibid.

and their men would come to Naworth at an hour's notice;[1] and so far from being able to take him, the English commanders were in daily fear of finding themselves overwhelmed at their posts. It was more dangerous to sit still than to move. On the 19th of February a warning reached Lord Hunsdon, at Berwick, that within two days at most, Buccleuch and Westmoreland would join Dacres with 5000 men, and they would then be past dealing with." He determined to try the chance of a sudden stroke, and, if he failed, to cut his way to Carlisle and join Scrope. With a great effort he collected 1500 men—the Berwick harquebusmen among them, on whose fidelity he could rely, and two hours after dark the little force set out from Hexham. The beacons were blazing on hill and church tower, and every hill side "was full of men, horse and foot, crying and shouting as if they had been mad." As they approached Naworth, scouts brought Hunsdon word that Dacres was waiting for him with twice his own strength; "if he took any overthrow," he knew that the whole north would again be immediately in arms, and his own troops would be destroyed to a man. As surprise was impossible, he thought it better to avoid a battle. The road passed near the castle, but the country was open; and striking off to the left, he passed it shortly after daybreak at two miles' distant. The Gelt river was in front of him, running along a deep gorge between precipitous sandstone cliffs. To attempt to cross, except at the bridge, would be extremely dangerous, and he was obliged to follow the brink of the ravine to recover the road again. Dacres had followed him at a distance, foreseeing his difficulty. There was a ridge of broken ground to be passed, from which the cliff fell sheer to the river, and where defeat would be destruction. At that spot, as his men were struggling along draggled and weary with their night's march, the borderers came down on them; and even Hunsdon himself could not withhold his admiration at the brilliancy of their onset. "They gave the proudest charge," he said, "that ever I saw." Retreat being impossible, the Berwick men stood to their arms; they were trained marksmen, as the time then was, and, at close quarters, their harquebuses gave them a terrible advantage. The borderers staggered under the fire, and, before they could recover themselves, Hunsdon fell on them with a squadron of horse, cut up some hundreds of them, and drove them back in confusion. Having so largely the advantage in numbers, they

[1] Scrope to Hunsdon, February 18: *MSS. Border.*

rescue and snatched him from capture and the scaffold.[1] Their leader gone, the borderers scattered to their homes. Two hundred men who had been left in Naworth fled like the rest, and, by the afternoon, the castle and its guns were surrendered. The victory was complete, but it was one of the many accidents to which Elizabeth was overmuch indebted Had the battle

situation in the face, to think less of money and more of the enormous interests which she was imperilling by her parsimony and vacillations.[2]

Elizabeth herself, when the peril was over, admitted that it had been greater than she had supposed She promised, or Cecil promised for her, that as long as the earls were in arms in Scotland a larger force should be maintained upon the borders; while she herself with her own hand thanked her cousin for his services, and repaid him, not entirely to his own satisfaction, for he never received anything more substantial, with a letter which, if a sovereign's praise could have filled a lean purse, would have made Hunsdon the richest of the peers.

"I doubt not, my Harry," she wrote, "whether that the victory was given me more joyed me, or that you were by God appointed the instrument of my glory And I assure you that for my country's sake the first might suffice, but for my heart's contentation the second more pleased me It likes me not a little that with a good testimony of your faith there is seen a stout courage of your mind that more trusted to the goodness of your quarrel than to the weakness of your numbers. But I can say no more. 'Beatus est ille servus quem cum Dominus venerit inveniet faciendo (*sic*) sua mandata' And that you may not think you have done nothing for your profit, though you have done much for your honour, I intend to make this journey somewhat to increase your livelihood, that you may not

[1] Hunsdon to the Queen, February 20 *MSS Border*
[2] Hunsdon to Cecil, March 3 Ibid

say to yourself, 'Perditum quod factum est ingrato.'—Your loving kinswoman, ELIZABETH."[1]

It is pleasant to be able to say that the cruelties which had followed on the main rebellion were not repeated. So many poor fellows had been killed in the fight that, at Hunsdon's suggestion, a general pardon followed to all who would submit, and in the trials of the prisoners who were not included in the amnesty, mercy also for the future prevailed.

[1] *MSS. Border, Rolls House.*

CHAPTER XIX

THE GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND AND THE CATHOLIC POWERS OF EUROPE—EXCOMMUNICATION OF ELIZABETH

The impunity with which Elizabeth's government was able to insult and provoke the Catholic powers of Europe is the most anomalous phenomenon in modern history. The population of England was less than half the population either of France or Spain. The nation was divided against itself, and three-quarters of the peers and half the gentlemen were disaffected. Yet the intricacies of the political situation protected the queen not only against active resentment from abroad, but from the conspiracies of her own subjects. Everywhere, indeed, there was paradox; everywhere contradiction and inconsistency. In the struggle for existence men snatch at the first weapon that comes to hand, and cannot look too nicely at the armoury where it has been forged. Catholics and Protestants where they were a suffering minority clamoured alike for liberty of conscience; alike where they were in power they proscribed every creed but their own. The obligations of loyalty varied with the creed of the sovereign. The English bishops who composed the Homily on Wilful Rebellion fed the armies of the Huguenots and the Prince of Orange with contributions collected in the English churches. The Catholics who on the [illegible] half a Catholic in theory, in practice she was the most vigorous of Protestants. The court of France was one month the ally of the Papacy and the irreconcilable enemy of heresy; in the next it was seeking alliance with England, stretching out its [illegible] mena like these occasion no surprise. They explain themselves on the common principles of human nature, or in the divisions of opinions and parties. The anomalies in the position of the English queen were so singular as to be without precedent or parallel.

rom Philip, the most orthodox of princes, and the Spanish ion, the most passionately Catholic in the world, some kind principle, some uniformity of action, might have been looked r with certainty; yet Philip was compelled to be the chief pporter of a heretic power, by which he was himself insulted nd despised. If he attempted to interfere to change the government in England, France stepped to Elizabeth's side and hreatened him with war. If he stood aside to let the Catholics ebel, the Catholic element in France was ready with its offers of help to secure the profits of the anticipated revolution, and Philip, through fear for his Netherlands, was forced back upon his sister-in-law's side, was obliged to stand between her and the pope, and to perplex the whole Catholic world by an irresolution not less marked and far more mischievous than the vacillation of Elizabeth herself. Again and again he had tried to extricate himself from his dilemma, but the strange eddy was always too strong for him. Had there been no France the English Catholics would have found an instant ally in Spain and Mary Stuart would have found a champion. Had Mary Stuart been unconnected with France the difficulty would have been greater but still not insurmountable. And again, had there been no Spain, the French would never have submitted to be driven out of Scotland, or would have found an easy means to revenge themselves in the intestine divisions of England. But as with the calms in the northern latitudes, which are caused by the conflict and counterpoise of opposed atmospheric currents, the mutual jealousies of the two powers left Elizabeth more free to settle her own difficulties than if the "ditch" which divided England from the Continent had been the Atlantic itself. She had the advantage of the neighbourhood without its evil, for her disaffected subjects, instead of trusting to their own energies built their hopes on assistance from abroad which never came She had robbed Philip of his money, imprisoned his ambassado destroyed his commerce, assisted his subjects in rebellion, an invaded his Indian colonies, yet to keep her on the throne co tinued the same necessity to him as when ten years before he ha rejected the entreaties of de Feria and de Quadra to make hims master of England by force.

The immunity indeed could not last for ever. If t Reformers were finally crushed on the Continent, the turn England would come in the end; and had Elizabeth underst the situation as completely as Cecil understood it, she mi have struck boldly into the quarrel, and perhaps turned the s

conclusively over all Western Europe. But for such a policy she wanted courage, and probably she wanted inclination. She *dipped into the whirlpool and drew out of it, she hung on the* edge and promised and broke her promises, and sent help to

her star was on her side. This very conduct answered best for her own purposes, since it enabled Philip to hope to the last that she would go back to the principles of the old alliance and the old faith, and so furnished him with an excuse to himself for his own inaction. Thus time was gained, and time was everything for

lift itself again. Protestantism was exuberant in the freshness of youth; if a branch was lopped away another more vigorous shot from the stem; the sap was in its veins; it would bend to the storm and gather strength from the blasts which tossed its branches. The Catholic rested upon order and tradition, stately in his habits of thought, mechanical and regular in his outward actions. His party depended on its leaders, and the leaders looked for guidance to the pope and the European princes. The Protestant was self-dependent, confident, careless of life,

warfare was denied him Life and energy were on the side of the queen, and every year that she could gain was a fresh security for her, while the convenient season for which Philip waited, though it arrived at last, arrived too late, when the hand which should execute his behests was shaking in decrepitude.

These reflections, however, if sound at all, are but wisdom after the event. We must return to England in the opening of the year 1570, when the vitality of Protestantism was still unproved, and the future was vacancy peopled only with its million possibilities.

The rebellion, ill concerted and ill managed, had exploded without effect, but it had left the Catholics no weaker than before, embittered more deeply against Elizabeth's government, and only resolved to renew the experiment with a clearer understanding among themselves. The conspiracy, as the Regent Murray said, had its branches over the whole island; and were

queen to be taken off by an assassin as Murray had been, re was no force anywhere which could save the country from mediate and universal anarchy.

Conscious of her danger, and conscious, as she recovered her uanimity, that she must find some better guarantee for her fety than the hanging of landless labourers and poor artisans, lizabeth drew up an address to her subjects, in which she ex- lained the principles of her past government, and appealed to heir consciences to say whether on the whole she had deserved heir disaffection. The thoughts were her own, the language in part or wholly was Cecil's.[1] A printed copy was sent to every parish in England, to be hung up in some public place where every one could see it, and read aloud in service time from the pulpit.

She spoke briefly of the insurrection. She thanked her people for their general loyalty; but "for their better understanding," she desired to add some few words of reply to the calumnies which were spread abroad against her administration. "She had desired," she said, "to have the obedience of her subjects by love and not by compulsion, by their own yielding and not by her exacting: she had never sought the life, the blood, the goods, the houses, estates, or lands of any person in her dominions:" she had been careful for the maintenance of order and law, yet with so little severity that "the judges had in no age before given fewer bloody judgments:" there had been no civil wars in England like those which were desolating the neighbouring kingdoms; no needless foreign wars, no impoverishing of the subject by "taxes, assises, gabels, or other exactions:" she had incurred expenses in the defence of the country against intended invasions; yet she had been more careful of her sub- jects' treasure than even Parliament itself had required her to be; the ordinary revenues of the crown had sufficed for the ordinary government, and she invited the people generally to contrast "the security, tranquillity, and wealth which they enjoyed, with the continual and universal outrages, bloodshed murders, burnings, spoilings, depopulation of towns and village and infinite manner of exactions, in France and the Lo Countries."

So much as to the general management of the country. The remained to be considered religion, on which her rule "specia

[1] The MS. is corrected throughout in Cecil's hand. The body of it been probably written at his dictation by a secretary.—*Domestic M* 1569, 1579. *Rolls House.*

from abroad had been most frequently and maliciously impugned." It was true, Elizabeth admitted, that "the external ecclesiastical policy of England differed in some respects from that which was established in other countries, and occasions had been sought to trouble weak consciences on this ground. Simply, however, she declared that she had neither claimed nor exerted any other authority in the Church than had

to define, decide, or determine any article or point of the Christian faith or religion; or to change any rite or ceremony before received and observed in the Catholic Church. The royal supremacy in matters spiritual meant no more than this, that she being by lawful succession Queen of England, all persons born in the realm were subjects to her and to no other earthly ruler. She was bound in duty to provide that her people should live in the faith, obedience, and observance of the Christian religion; that consequently there should be a Church orderly governed and established, and that the ecclesiastical ministers should be supported by the civil power, that her subjects might live in the fear of God to the salvation of their souls. In this Christian princes differed from Pagan princes, who, when they did best, took but a worldly care of their subjects' bodies and earthly lives.

"And yet," she said, "to answer further to some malicious untruths, she never had any meaning or intent that any of her subjects should be troubled or molested by examinations or inquisitions in any matter of their faith, as long as they should not gainsay the authority of the Holy Scriptures, or deny the articles of faith contained in any of the creeds received and used in the Church: they might retain their own opinions in any rites or ceremonies appertaining to religion, as long as they should in their outward conversations show themselves quiet and conformable, and not manifestly repugnant to the laws for resort-

lenging universal and sole superiority, should condemn the English princes for refusing to recognise that superiority, Elizabeth said she would be ready, in any free and general assembly, where such potentate should not be only judge in his own cause, to make such an answer in her defence as should in reason s[illegible]

the universality of good and faithful Christians; or, if she failed to satisfy them, as the humble servant and handmaid of Christ, she would be willing to conform herself and her policy to that which truth should guide her into for the advancement of the Christian faith and concord of Christendom: she would admit as truth, however, only that which Almighty God should please to reveal by ordinary means in peaceable manner, and not that which should be obtruded upon her by threatenings of bloodshed and motions of war and rebellion, or by curses, fulminations, or other worldly tyrannous violences or cruel practices.

"With this general statement her subjects ought to be contented. She had done nothing which could justly offend them, and she intended to do nothing. Inasmuch, however, as some kinds of her people had been encouraged in disobedience by an opinion evil conceived of her lenity, she must and would, for the future, make use of the sword of justice against the obstinately disaffected. There should be no inquisition, no examination, no violence done to conscience in matters of faith; and those who would outwardly conform should enjoy the fruits of her former accustomed mildness; but sedition and rebellion should be speedily and promptly repressed."

The allusion "to curses and fulminations" might seem prophetic. That Elizabeth had not been formally excommunicated had been one of the difficulties which had embarrassed the northern insurgents. An English gentleman instinctively recoiled from the name of traitor; and so long as he was unabsolved from his oath of allegiance, the most earnest Catholics could not feel with certainty that they were released from their obligation of obedience. The popes would long before have relieved their consciences could they have followed their own discretion; but the Catholic princes, and especially Philip, were not so blinded by fanaticism as to sanction so audacious a precedent. Charles V. had refused to recognise the excommunication of Henry VIII.; he had received English ambassadors, and gone back into an alliance with the English, as if Paul III. had been but a mortal like himself. Philip had been less openly disrespectful to Paul's successors; but he had escaped only by preventing them from forcing him into the same situation, and by interposing to prevent their often-meditated violence. Many reasons made him unwilling to quarrel with Elizabeth. Many reasons made him reluctant, even if an opportunity should present itself, to permit her to be deposed by

revolution; and as a sovereign, he declined to recognise even by silent acquiescence the insolent pretensions of the Roman pontiff.

Confronted, however, by the avowed embarrassment of the English Catholics, privately instigated by the Cardinal of Lorraine, and perhaps believing that by the open exercise of his authority he might put an end to the vacillation of the great powers, and unite France and Spain upon what, by the voice of their Church, would be consecrated into a crusade, Pius V. determined to wait no longer for Philip's approbation. The Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland had themselves written to desire him to speak out in their favour. On the 25th of February, therefore, suddenly, that there might be no remonstrance, he drew up a bull, by which he declared Elizabeth to be [illegible]

[illegible]

the bull could be published in Flanders. Philip, he was well aware, would entreat or command him to restore the levin bolt to his spiritual armoury. He therefore sent it to the Cardinal of Lorraine, to be issued at a favourable moment, and, ignorant as yet of the completeness of the collapse of the insurrection in England, or believing that the work could be recommenced from the Scottish border, he wrote at the same time a letter of encouragement and gratitude to the two earls. It was couched in the usual language of the apostolic missives. The pope expressed and assured them of the peculiar love with which he regarded his English flock "He was grieved," he said, "that during his pontificate, the venom of heresy should have been spread so widely over the Christian commonwealth. He had [illegible]

[illegible]

that precious boat had seemed to be on the verge of destruction; yet, by the power of the Lord, the raging waves had been stayed, and the ship had come out from persecution, strengthened by the violence which had threatened it with ruin. It might be that the Lord Jesus Christ, who made old things new and new

[1] Bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, February 25, 1570 *MSS. Domestic, Rolls House. Printed by* CAMDEN, BURNET, etc.

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things old, had resolved to build again the Church of that realm by the hands of the two noblemen whom he was addressing—men illustrious alike in their blood and in their zeal for the faith, who had endeavoured to save themselves and their country from the foul tyranny of female sensuality.[1] They had desired to submit themselves again to the Holy Apostolic See. He applauded in the Lord their pious purpose as it deserved. He gave them his blessing. He received them under the shelter of his authority. He exhorted them to be constant and to persevere. He was assured that the Almighty Lord, whose works were all perfect and who had moved them to the defence of the Catholic faith, would give them the aid of His powerful arm. Should they lose their lives in His service, it was better for them to pass at once into Paradise through a glorious death, than to be the mean slaves of a licentious woman, and lose their immortal souls. The bishops who had been flung into dungeons rather than forsake the truth had followed in the footsteps of the blessed Thomas of Canterbury. Let the earls also imitate that admirable saint. They were his beloved children in Christ, and he prayed them, for no perils by which they might be threatened, to desert the cause which they had taken in hand. The God in whom they trusted, the God who cast Pharaoh and his chariots into the sea, was able to destroy the might of their adversaries. The pope himself would not only move the princes of Christendom in their behalf, but would send them at once all the money which he could provide, and in this and all other ways would assist them in their holy purpose to the utmost of his power."[2] The letter never reached its destination, but fell into the hands of the Spaniards. The bull was carried to Paris, and lay waiting for the moment when it was hoped that a war would break out between France and England, and that Catherine de Medici and the king would give their sanction—without which even the Cardinal of Lorraine was afraid to act—to the publication of it before the world.[3]

[1] "De la subjeccion de la torpe y feminil incontinencia."

[2] La carta que su Santidad escribió á los Condes de Northumberland ó Westmoreland, February 20, 1570: *MSS. Simancas.*

[3] Philip, who was generally credited with having advised Elizabeth's excommunication, was more than innocent of it. He was surprised, displeased, and suspicious, believing that it was connected in some way with a design on the part of the French government to make an attempt upon England. Don Guerau sent him a copy of the bull.

"The instrument which you have forwarded to me," Philip wrote in reply—"the instrument declaring the Queen of England deprived of her realm, was the first which I had heard about the business. His holiness took the step without communicating with me, and I assure you I am

The opportunity might easily be near: the attitude of the [illegible]

[illegible]

conspiracy; when it became clear that Spain did not mean to interfere, the place of protector of the oppressed was again open with its contingent advantages. France could make use of the resentment which would be provoked naturally by the apathy of Alva and Philip, and the death of Murray had created a fresh chance for the recovery of French influence in Scotland. The Huguenots were not expected to rally from the effects of Moncoutour. The Guise influence was in the ascendant, and Catherine leant as usual to the policy of the predominant party. Accordingly, during the first weeks of the year, the despatches of Sir Henry Norris from Paris were filled with warnings of [illegible]

[illegible]

queen-mother told Norris "that she thought God had sent the beginning of a rebellion to warn his mistress how she assisted rebels against their princes; if the first lesson sufficed not, she must look for sharper scourges." An army was to be thrown across the Straits, which the Duke of Anjou was to lead, and the duke was to be rewarded with the hand of the Queen of Scots. The success of Bothwellhaugh had been so encouraging that the Cardinal of Lorraine engaged a party of assassins to attempt a similar service on Elizabeth. He offered Alva a share of the enterprise, and requested him to make a diversion in Scotland, while Anjou moved on London and Tutbury.

not a little surprised at it Knowing as I do so intimately the condition of that realm, I could have given him better advice than others whose [illegible]

[illegible]

To his ambassador in Paris, Philip expressed himself yet more vehemently. "The pope," he said, "should have consulted me before taking this step. I cannot but feel uneasy that it was concealed from me It means mischief, and we must get to the bottom of it We must find out especially what the French are after—their usual tricks no doubt If there be anything of this kind, we may credit it to the Cardinal of Lorraine, whose actions show that you have done him no injustice in the opinion which you have formed of his character"—Philip to Don Francis de Alava June 26: TEULET, vol. v.

That Alva would accept a second part in such a business was exceedingly unlikely. The marriage of the Queen of Scots and the Duke of Anjou was one of the most alarming spectres in Philip's imagination. Don Guerau, however, suggested that, under shelter of the expected French enterprise, the duke might attempt the surprise of Tutbury on his own account; it was of great importance that the Queen of Scots should be at liberty, and equally so that she should not fall into the hands of the French.[1] He had ascertained that she was left to herself between two o'clock at night and nine the following morning; and if Alva would send a ship well manned to some secluded spot on the east coast, with a sufficient number of horses, means could be found, with the help of *Leicester*, whose service it seems had been secured by Chapin,[2] to carry her off to the sea.[3] With a view to an underplot of this kind, and to throw Catherine off her guard, Alva did not answer with entire coldness to the Cardinal of Lorraine's proposals. Sir Henry Norris intimated his fears that there was danger from Flanders as well as from France, unless in some way the Queen of Scots could be got rid of. "I pray you assure yourself," he wrote to Cecil on the 9th of March, "that except they fail of their purpose, they intend the ruin of her majesty; as you tender her majesty's preservation, let the Queen of Scots be removed out of the country." [4]

Don Guerau had been scrupulously secret about the intended escape; but a hint of the plot reached Cecil from Paris. On inquiry at Tutbury, suspicious "practices" were discovered among the servants, and the guard at the castle was instantly

[1] "Parece cosa muy conveniente procurar la libertad de la Reyna de Escocia, porque con tenerla presa tiene creydo la Reyna de Inglaterra que ningun Principe Catolico le hará guerra por no poner en peligro la dicha Princesa; y asy tambien es mejor que su libertad no sea por via de los Françeses ní venga á poder dellos, por lo que han mostrado desear de casarla con el Duque de Anjou; antes seria muy al proposito que viniese en poder de su Magd., porque se casase á su voluntad, pues para el bien de la religion y seguridad de los Payses Baxos y de V. Md. y la navegacion importaria mucho."—Don Guerau to Alva, March 7: *MSS. Simancas*.

[2] Don Guerau, speaking of some one who was to be sent first to survey the ground where the relays of horses were to be placed, says:—"Puede traer una carta del Marquis para el Conde de Leicester para procurar la dicha facultad." Leicester had perhaps deceived Chapin, in order to learn his secrets and betray them; or, as usual, he may have been making his game for all contingencies. No one can tell. Only wherever we come upon his name in these underground passages it is always connected with infamy or treachery of some kind.

[3] Don Guerau to Alva, March 7.

[4] Norris to Cecil, January 2, January 27, March 1, March 9, March 15; Norris to Elizabeth, February 5, March 9: *MSS. France, Rolls House*.

doubled. The locks were taken from the queen's door, that her rooms might be examined at any hour of the day or night, if "sudden danger should chance;" and a significant intimation was given to her, that if she tried to fly it might be dangerous.[1] Elizabeth herself, too, prepared for the worst. Though knowing nothing of the excommunication, she had reason enough to believe that the warnings of Sir Henry Norris might be well founded. There was a general impression that on the events of the year that was opening the fate of the Reformation depended—and with the Reformation, of her own throne. La Mothe Fénelon continued to demand the release or the restoration of Mary Stuart, and it seemed only too likely that a declaration of war would follow unless the government gave way. The treasury was poorly provided. Elizabeth shrunk from encountering a Parliament with no husband at her side, and with the succession still unsettled, and without a Parliament she could neither raise a subsidy nor confiscate the estates of the northern earls, who could now be only reached through an Act of Attainder. Sir Thomas Gresham, however, was able to raise a loan in the city. The Spanish treasure was untouched, and could be used in extremity. Every serviceable ship was sent to sea; the musters were called into training on the whole south and west of England; the arms and horses looked to; and officers were chosen who were known as haters of popes and papistries. Before March, La Mothe reported that a hundred and twenty thousand men could take the field in different parts of England at a few days' notice, and could be relied upon to defend the country from a French invasion.[2] The defeat of [illegible]

of [illegible]

al [illegible]

called upon to restore Mary Stuart: she answered with an unexaggerated sketch of Mary Stuart's history. She went over the old ground of the usurped title, the unratified treaty, the [illegible]

[illegible]

stances of his death was absolutely unavoidable. The Queen of Scots had consented after some objections, and Elizabeth had

[1] John Bateman to Cecil, March 1570. *MSS. Queen of Scots.*
[2] Dépêches de la Mothe Fénelon, February, 1570.

[pr]omised that if the charge against her proved to be unfounded, [he]r accusers should be punished, and she herself should be [re]stored to her estate. The evidence, however, proved so unex[pe]ctedly weighty, that the Queen of Scots herself put an end to [th]e inquiry, and refused to allow it to be prosecuted further. [E]lizabeth had forborne to use the advantage which was thus [p]laced in her hands. She had stood between the Queen of Scots [a]nd the infamy with which she would have been overwhelmed [h]ad the proofs of her guilt been published, and, in return, the Queen of Scots had stirred up an open rebellion, professedly in the interests of religion, but aimed in reality against Elizabeth's throne and life. This person she was now called upon to set at liberty, or restore to her crown; and to do so would be an act of dangerous folly, which no indifferent person should in conscience require. "She would not," Elizabeth said distinctly—"she would not be herself the author to hazard her own person, her state and honour, the quietness of her realm and people, without further consideration how in doing it she could maintain her crown and public peace among her subjects. She dared to appeal to the judgment of any prince or potentate in the world that would profess indifference in judgment: the Queen of Scots herself, and her most affectioned friends, could not think her to deal therein unreasonably."[1]

Could the French government have answered that the Queen of Scots was a slandered woman; that Elizabeth's pretended care for her honour was but a contrivance to give countenance to accusations which would not endure investigation, they would have replied that her injustice was aggravated by her hypocrisy; they would have dared her to produce the so-called evidence before the eyes of Europe, that she might hersel[f] receive the infamy from which she affected to be shielding Mar[y] Stuart. Was the truth as the defenders of the Queen of Scot[s] maintain, such a challenge would have been more fatal to Eliza[-] beth than the landing on her shores of all the legions of Alva an[d] Anjou; but this could not be; Catherine de Medici had perha[ps] learnt by this time that Alva's legions would not be at h[er] service, that the Catholics were for the present crushed, a[nd] that as against France they would stand true to their o[wn] sovereign. She therefore confessed, when Sir H. Norris re[ad] the letter to her, that she had nothing to reply to it. She s[till] hoped, she said, that the Queen of Scots might be allowed [to] leave England, or might be eventually re-established in

[1] Instructions to Sir H. Norris: *Conway MSS.*, 1570. *Rolls House*

own country; but both she and Charles admitted that they could make no further unconditional requests in her favour.[1] If the Queen of England could discover any terms consistent with her own safety on which the restoration could be effected, they said that they would themselves become securities that those terms should be observed; but Charles declared positively [illegible] to interfere, and Catherine afterwards in [illegible]

[illegible]

sudden and so entire, led Norris to suspect false dealing. The English government was not lulled into false security, but continued their preparations for defence, while the Protestant congregations raised subscriptions to support the Huguenots. Large sums of money continued to be sent to the admiral, the privateer fleets were let out again, and the English ports were reopened to the Rochelle cruisers. Coligny, who had been wounded at Moncoutour, was once more in the field at the head of an army, and whether the court was sincere or not in its present moderation, Elizabeth was able to feel that from France, while its present mood lasted, she had nothing to fear, although that mood would probably continue until it had been seen whether, through the death of Murray, the French party would recover their ascendancy in Scotland. There it was that she found her chief ground for uneasiness, and the necessity, or what appeared to her a necessity, for an evasive and shuffling policy. The natural, and at first sight the most prudent, course for her would have been to declare for the young king, to acknowledge, once for all, that the Queen of Scots had lost her crown by her own fault, and to refuse to allow the question of restoration to be any more re-opened. But in doing this she must have been prepared—either, as she had proposed in the autumn, to replace the Queen of Scots as a prisoner into the hands of the Protestant party (and in their present state of disorganisation Mary Stuart would either be murdered by them immediately or at no distant time would be set at liberty); or else to keep her permanently in England, to be a perpetual occasion of internal trouble. She might have made up her mind to this last alternative, could she be assured that the house of Lorraine would not regain their influence at Paris; but it was unsafe to calculate on French policy for two months together. It was always possible that the fanatically Catholic element in France might change the

[1] Norris to Cecil, March 15; Norris to Elizabeth, [illegible] *France, Rolls House.*

mplete control of the government. France and Spain might
en be brought together by the pope, and the Queen of Scots
ould be a pretext for a joint declaration of war. The Scotch
obles who were on the queen's side would become permanently
ostile to England, and throw themselves wholly on the French
lliance. To keep Maitland, Argyle, and the Gordons there-
fore in dependence upon herself; to prevent them from joining
with the Hamiltons, who were and always would be the deter-
mined enemies of England;[1] to discover at last some possible
compromise by which she could reconcile impossibilities, by
which she could replace Mary Stuart yet leave her powerless
for mischief, with merely the outward insignia of sovereignty—
this was the solution of the problem which commended itself to
Elizabeth as that which, on the whole, promised best for Eng-
lish interests and for her own safety. It was because she had
been baffled on this very point when she hoped that she was about
to succeed, that she was so much irritated in the past summer
with the Earl of Murray and the Convention of Perth. She had
allowed herself, apparently without Cecil's knowledge, to corre-
spond in secret with the Earl of Argyle and with Maitland;
to encourage them both in upholding Mary Stuart's cause, as she
had done before when Mary Stuart was at Lochleven, and to
persuade them to trust in her rather than in France. Her
secret purposes must remain always extremely obscure. It is
possible that she was deliberately dishonest; but, beyond
doubt, she led the Earl of Argyle to believe that in thwarting
Murray, and in keeping up a party in opposition to him, he was
but fulfilling the Queen of England's wishes.[2]

[1] The Hamiltons, though nominally on Mary Stuart's side, were as
usual working rather for themselves than for her, and were looking steadily
on the possible reversion of the Scotch crown. Mary Stuart had named
Chatelherault regent in her absence; but Chatelherault and his famil
were contemplating the contingency of a fresh inquiry into the Darnle
murder, which might terminate both in the queen and the young princ
being set aside, and in their own establishment upon the throne supporte
by France.

"In case," Chatelherault said in a commission which he sent to Fran
and Spain, "in case all were not dissolved which proceeded of the E
of Murray and his complices, and thereby the queen's grace was not fou
worthy (as God forbid) to brook the government, the prince will r
succeed as it is supposed, since the right of the crown comes only by
majesty to him, and therefore will appertain to the said duke and
successors."—Commission from the Duke of Chatelherault to the King
France and Spain, June, 1570: *MSS. Scotland, Rolls House.*

[2] Argyle himself told Randolph "that in all things he had done
defence of the queen his mistress, since the time of her imprisonmen
Lochleven, he did it by such advice as the Queen of England had gi
him, which had caused him since that time to have lost the friendshi

A dread of war, a hatred of expense, a sympathy for a sister sovereign, a dislike of rebellion however necessary or defensible—an intellectual pleasure in a subtle and intricate policy—all these elements worked perhaps together in Elizabeth's mind, and made her persist in a line of action which she could pursue only in the teeth of her own promises. The effect so far had been a dangerous conspiracy at home, a partial insurrection, and the *murder at last of the best friend that she possessed out of her* own kingdom The position was at present complicated by the presence of the refugees on the border, for whom in the friends of Mary Stuart she had provided only too efficient protectors, while there was another peril which she might have foreseen but which she apparently overlooked The union of parties which she was trying to bring about in the interests of England, might be effected with equal likelihood in the interests of France. If after the experience of the rebellion she still persisted in endeavouring to thrust the Queen of Scots back upon them, the Protestant noblemen might anticipate her, as Maitland endeavoured *to persuade them to do at York, by themselves* inviting the Queen of Scots' return Scotland would at least escape the civil war which was otherwise impending. The demand of a united people, supported as they would be by the French court, Elizabeth would be unable to refuse And she would then lose the chance of exacting conditions for her own security.

In the anarchy which followed the murder of Murray, the English fugitives were undisturbed upon the border Leonard Dacres joined them after his defeat, and the Earl of Westmoreland, with all the help which the Buccleuchs, the Homes, the Kers, and the Maxwells could give him, was threatening to return into England and rekindle the insurrection. Scotland was without a government which could either restrain them or be held responsible to Elizabeth; and unless Elizabeth was roused at last to a more definite policy, it was not unlikely that Chatelherault might be accepted as regent by all parties, and the young prince be sent across to Paris

To prevent this at least, to keep the Protestant leaders together, yet still without power to take the one step which

would have recovered their confidence, Randolph at the beginning of February came down to Edinburgh. He was sent, as he bitterly said to Cecil, to feed an angry and anxious party "with bare words." On the instant of his arrival he was beset with questions as "to what was to be done with the Queen of Scots." He found those from whom he most expected support possessed with a conviction "that she would some time be sent home against their will;" and he was forced to see that "until they could be assured that it should pass her power to do them evil, there could be no good assurance of their hearts towards England." [1]

Had Scotland remained as he had known it ten years before—a country without a people, a country of noblemen and gentlemen where the commons had no existence except as servants or retainers or dependants, the shot which killed Murray would have killed the Reformation. The first champions of the cause, the lords of the congregation, were divided, distracted, bankrupt in fortune and principle, and with little heart to continue the struggle; but it was not for nothing that John Knox had for ten years preached in Edinburgh, and his words been echoed from a thousand pulpits. The murders, the adulteries, the Bothwell scandals, and other monstrous games which had been played before heaven there since the return of the queen from France, had been like whirlwinds fanning the fire of the new teaching. Princes and lords only might have noble blood, but every Scot had a soul to be saved, a conscience to be outraged by these enormous doings, and an arm to strike with in revenge for them. Elsewhere the plebeian element of nations had risen to power through the arts and industries which make men rich—the commons of Scotland were sons of their religion: while the nobles were splitting into factions, chasing their small ambitions, taking securities for their fortunes or entangling themselves in political intrigues, the tradesmen, the mechanics, the poor tillers of the soil, had sprung suddenly into consciousness with spiritual convictions for which they were prepared to live and die. The fear of God in them left no room for the fear of any other thing, and in the very fierce intolerance which Knox had poured into their veins they had become a force in the state. The poor clay which a generation earlier the haughty baron would have trodden into slime, had been heated red-hot in the furnace of a new faith; and Randolph, though at first he could ill realise the change, found himself in an altered world. With

[1] Randolph to Cecil, February 7, February 22: *MSS. Scotland.*

Murray was gone all that was conciliatory, all that was gentle, all that was chivalrous in Scottish Protestantism. It was shaped by Knox into a creed for the people—a creed in which the ten commandments were more important than the sciences, and the Bible than all the literature of the world; narrow, fierce,

solemnity. The body of the Regent Murray was brought from Linlithgow to Leith, and thence on the 14th of February to its resting place in St. Giles' church. The country for the moment forgot its feuds to pay honour to the noblest of Scotland's sons. Lords and gentlemen, knights and citizens, all who were able, came together to take part in the sad procession. The standard was borne by Grange Five earls and three barons[1] carried the coffin, and behind was a train of mourners "in such sorrow" as Randolph "never saw." Three thousand people were in the church, and the funeral sermon was preached by Knox. His text was "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord." His words have not been preserved, but in all that iron crowd there was not a man but was in tears[2]

[1] Morton, Mar, Glencairn, Cassilis, Ruthven, Lindsay, Ochiltree, and Glamis

and Thou, in the multitude of thy mercies, heard us, and first Thou

Thy image, Lord, did so clearly shine in that personage that the Devil and the wicked to whom he is prince could not abide it, and so to punish

His words, whatever they were, augured ill for compromise. To him and to the Scotch commons Mary Stuart was simply a wicked woman, whose rights, could they have been accurately ascertained, were a short shrift and six feet of rope. The nobles had tough consciences and had estates to lose, and as Elizabeth had prevented them from hanging the queen, her restoration did not seem impossible to them. The commons, however, would as soon be subject to Satan. Few or none of the lords cared in their hearts to see Mary Stuart again among them; and as there was a sincere desire to save the country from bloodshed, they were willing, in the first emotion which followed Murray's death, to come to any settlement which Elizabeth would allow to endure. Smaller jealousies and smaller aims were laid aside. Maitland, after the funeral, came down from the castle, and was acquitted by acclamation of all charges against him, and a private meeting was held at Dalkeith, at which Argyle was present, to determine whether another regent should be chosen in Murray's place. Randolph was sent for and required to say what Elizabeth wished. He was unable to answer. Was the queen to return? He could not tell. Would Elizabeth recognise James? He was forbidden to make a positive statement. The lords were in no humour to be trifled with. Maitland repeated his conviction that the queen would be restored. Argyle had received letters from the Queen of England which pointed to the same conclusion. The meeting broke up without a resolution, but Morton, who had succeeded

flock comforted by it, seeing that we are now left as a flock without a pastor in civil policy and as a ship without a rudder in the midst of the storm. Let Thy providence watch, Lord, and defend us in these dangerous days, that the wicked of the world may see that as well without the help of man as with it Thou art able to rule, maintain, and defend the little flock that dependeth upon Thee. And because, oh Lord, the shedding of innocent blood has ever been and yet is odious in Thy presence, yea, that it defileth the whole land when it is shed and not punished, we crave of Thee, for Christ Thy Son's sake, that Thou wilt so try and punish the two treasonable and cruel murders lately committed, that the inventors, devisers, authors, and maintainers of treasonable cruelty may be either thoroughly convicted or confounded. Oh Lord, if Thy mercy prevent not we cannot escape just condemnation, for that Scotland hath spared and England hath maintained the life of that most wicked woman. Oppose Thy power, oh Lord, to the pride of that cruel murderess of her own husband; confound her faction and their subtle enterprises of what estate and condition soever they be; and let them and the world know that Thou art a God that can deprehend the wise in their own wisdom, and the proud in the imagination of their wicked hearts to their everlasting confusion. Lord, retain us that call upon Thee in Thy true fear. Let us grow in the same. Give Thou strength to us to fight our battle, yea, Lord, to fight it lawfully, and to end our lives in the sanctification of Thy holy name."—Works of John Knox, vol. vi. pp. 569, 570.

Murray as the political leader of the Protestants, were to Elizabeth to see that unless she could resolve one way or the other all Scotland would go "to France," and the influence of England would be irrecoverably lost.[2]

Compelled in this way to commit herself more deeply than she had intended, Elizabeth relaxed something of her excessive caution. She herself, or Cecil for her,[3] directed Randolph to tell Morton and his friends "that she remained resolute in all things which concerned the maintenance of the true Christian religion among them, the preservation of their king"—she had never used the word before—"and consequently of their own particular states and degrees." "She desired them not to be perplexed with reports of devices for the queen's restoration;" "she would consent to nothing till she might first understand their intentions for themselves." It had been intimated to her that if a new

[illegible]

some one, she would not refuse her sanction.[4]

At the same time as an indication of further intentions which she did not care to explain, she said that the state of the border was intolerable and at all hazards must be immediately looked to. She would not allow her own rebellious subjects to use the shelter of Scottish territory to make war upon England, and unless the Scotch council "saw the matter redressed," "she would reform it herself in such sharp manner as the offenders should repent themselves, and be unable to commit the like again."

Elizabeth had created the party by whom Westmoreland and Dacres were now supported. Sir Robert Constable's treacheries had come to nothing, and she had a plausible excuse to undo some part at least of her own work. If she sent troops across the border to break up the nest of marauders at Fernihurst, she would virtually break the power which the Protestant regency had most occasion to fear. She should not interfere avowedly in

[2] [illegible]

[3] Elizabeth to Randolph, [illegible]. The draft of the letter is in Cecil's hand throughout.

[4] Lennox was in London, [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible]

their favour for fear of a rupture with France. She intended to confine her actions behind the plea of her own defence. She was entitled to deal with the existing nominal government in Scotland for purposes of ordinary justice. She instructed Randolph therefore to require the council to maintain the peace of the border and the existing treaties with England, and to offer them the assistance of her own forces if their own means were insufficient. She told him to point out to Morton that, "whereas he had asked for help from England against the faction in arms against the king, she was content to give him what he wanted. The form would be different but the result would be the same; the persons of whom she complained being notorious enemies of the young king, and of the nobility adhering to him. Morton would perhaps inquire whether she intended to take full part with them and declare herself a party to the maintenance of the king in his present state. In that case Randolph might tell him that, if he would consider, the effect of his desire must needs follow. It might not be expressed in words that the army came to maintain the king, yet it would suppress those who were the king's adversaries. There were considerations which made it undesirable for the Queen of England to take upon herself, in words, the office of a judge and pronounce by a formal act on the lawfulness of the Queen of Scots' dethronement. It was enough for her that Scotland had appointed by Parliament a *de facto* government for itself. England would not intermeddle so far as to say that Scotland was right or wrong in what it had done, but so far Randolph might promise, that if the noblemen who had hitherto been favourable to the English alliance would assist in executing the law against the rebels and their maintainers, the Queen of England would identify her cause with theirs against any who on that ground should seek to oppose them." [1]

As usual when action became imperative, when it was absolutely necessary to do something or to lose the game, Cecil carried his point. The substance of these directions had been drawn up, in a private conference on the 16th of March, by him and Bacon, and although the queen was as far as ever from the only course which could give peace to Scotland or security to herself, enough would be done to enable the king's friends to hold their ground. The soldiers who had been so hastily dismissed after the suppression of the rebellion were again collected, of course at an increased expense. Four thousand men were to assemble at Berwick by the second week in April, and Sussex

[1] Instructions to Randolph, March 18, abridged: *MSS. Scotland.*

was ordered up from York to take the command. He was directed to put himself in communication with Morton and Mar, and having obtained their consent in the king's name, he was to cross the border, seize Westmoreland, Leonard Dacres, and the Nortons, or force them to leave Scotland, and was to inflict condign punishment on the border chiefs who had assisted them in their inroads into Northumberland.[1]

It was not, however, without efforts almost desperate that Elizabeth's consent had been obtained to these measures, nor till the troops were actually over the border could Cecil feel assured that the order would not be revoked. The English court below the surface was seething with intrigue, and the base influence of the queen's favourites was at work perpetually to undo or neutralise the counsels of her statesmen.

On the breaking up of the conference at Dalkeith, Mary Stuart's friends had been as busy as the king's. The temper of Scotland was in many ways unfavourable to the English alliance. The demand for the extradition of the refugees had touched the pride of the country; and in the general ill-humour, to invite or sanction an English invasion would be construed into national treason. So long as Elizabeth withheld the recognition of James, she deprived Morton of the solitary pretence with which he could accept the assistance of the detested Saxons, and she took from him and his party the only ground on which they could confidently rely upon her promises. They knew, and all Scotland knew, that Elizabeth was not Cecil. They knew that she had a perpetual secret leaning to a weak and yielding policy, and they had seen, in her treatment of Murray, with what indifference she could fling over her most faithful adherents, if it became convenient to disown and desert them. Randolph was obliged to report that "the remedy offered by his mistress was so [illegible]

[illegible]

those whom she really favoured, were flying about the country [illegible]

[illegible]

he would abstain only while Elizabeth abstained. M. de Virac came to Dumbarton with money and promises, "scattering doubt, division, and uncertainty." The refugees professed to represent the English aristocracy and the political sentiment

[1] Instructions to Sussex, March, 1570. *MSS. Border.*

of England, and a paper of conditions was circulated calling itself the opinion of the peers, on the measures to be taken for a general settlement of the whole island. A complete amnesty was to be proclaimed for the late rebellion; the Queen of Scots was to be restored and accepted as Elizabeth's successor; while the religious differences were to be composed by universal toleration, to which the pope and the Catholic powers might be expected to consent.[1]

Such terms could not have been enforced, even in Scotland, till many a homestead had been made desolate. Darnley's ghost still wandered unrevenged. The murder at Linlithgow was fresh, and these were not wounds to be skinned over with pleasant remedies. A black banner was hung out in Edinburgh, on which again, as at Carberry, there was wrought the figure of the king under the tree, the infant James with clasped hands lifted up to heaven, and beside them "the regent in his bed as he died with his wound open."[2] But the politicians could not understand the times. Among men who had lands to forfeit or to gain, who had court favour to aspire to, or schemes to gratify for national greatness or glory, the cry of the hour was for a "composition;" and foremost among the advocates of the queen's restoration was Maitland of Lidington. There had been a moment after Murray's death when a word from Elizabeth would have recalled Maitland to her side and Cecil's; but that word had not been spoken. He was deep in the English conspiracy; deep with Norfolk, Lumley, Arundel, Southampton, with all the leaders of the Catholic reaction. He had set his heart on the recall of Mary Stuart. He believed that he could unite Scotland in her favour, and backed as she already was in England, that he could extort at last the fulfilment of his old proud passionate hope—the establishment of a Scottish sovereign on the throne of the Edwards. Had Elizabeth acknowledged James as her successor, he and all Scotland with him would have been entirely satisfied; but Elizabeth had refused to hear of it, and as she would not accept the son, she should be compelled to endure the mother. If pope, priest, and mass book came back in the process, pope, priest, and mass book would not be a price too dear. How had Maitland become so changed—Maitland, who had once worked side by side with Knox, and had been Murray's nearest adviser, Maitland, the pupil and

[1] Questions to be proposed if the pope's holiness and the foreign princes will thereto agree, April 3: *MSS. Border.*
[2] Randolph to Cecil, March 1: *MSS. Scotland.*

ill of God" was to Knox the supreme and solitary guide. To Maitland it seemed, from words which he let fall in his confidential hours, that God was "ane Bogill of the nursery." Each crossed the other's path at a thousand turns. When he could knead the other ministers like clay, Maitland had ever found Knox inflexible. He could not deceive him, for Knox with mere earthly eyes could see as far or farther than Maitland, and Maitland who, if heaven was empty, acknowledged the divinity of intellect, came soon to detest what he could not afford to despise. These, or something like them, were the keys to the conduct of this remarkable man. His health was gone, his body was half paralysed, but his wit remained as keen as ever; and from this time till his death he became the chief adviser of the Scottish queen in her English prison, and the mainstay of her party throughout the island.[1] Randolph, hardly able as yet to realise the change which had passed over him, addressed him on the old terms, appealed to his friendship, and reminded him of the especial reliance which Elizabeth placed in him. Maitland was aware that she trusted him and intended to make use of her weakness. While Morton was addressing her through Randolph and Cecil, Maitland approached her through Leicester. "He wished," he said, "to explain to her distinctly the condition of Scottish parties. There were two parties there—the king's and the queen's: the first was composed of a certain number of the nobility and the commons whom, as he understood, the Queen of England was advised to support; the other consisted of the heads of all the greatest families in the country, confident in the goodness of their cause, and assured that all kings allowed their quarrel and would aid them accordingly. A second division had bee[n] created by the death of the regent, grounded upon the regime[nt] of the realm. The nobles who had deposed the queen claim[ed] to govern in virtue of the commission which was extorted fro[m] her at Lochleven; but even among those who had been hither[to] for the king there were many who thought it neither fit n[or] tolerable that three or four of the meanest sort among the ea[rls] should presume to challenge to themselves the rule of the wh[ole]

[1] Randolph's account of him at this period is interesting. "I do [know] nothing of him now," he wrote, "so much as the length of his life. [He] hath only his heart whole and his stomach good; with an honest m[ind] much more given to policy than to Mr. Knox's preaching. His legs clean gone. His body so weak that it sustaineth not itself. His in[ward] parts so feeble that to endure to neese he cannot for annoying the w[hole] body. To this the blessed joy of a young wife hath brought him."—Randolph to Cecil, March 1.

fears of the Queen of Scots. Unable to shake Cecil's credit, Leicester had been more successful in inducing the queen to recall Lord Arundel. Times were changed since Fitzalan had been Leicester's rival for Elizabeth's hand, since he had called Amy Robsart's shadow out of the tomb to wave Leicester back from his presumption. Fitzalan's hopes had long been buried, and his passion and his ambition had been turned upon political and spiritual intrigue. His name appeared conspicuously in the depositions of the prisoners examined after the northern rebellion,[1] but he had been too prudent to commit himself to open treason. He was able to represent his share of the conspiracy as part of an honest policy conceived in Elizabeth's interests, and Elizabeth dared not openly break with the still powerful party among the nobles to which Arundel belonged, who professed to desire nothing more than the restoration of the Queen of Scots, her recognition as heir presumptive, the removal of Cecil from office, and a return to a [illegible] with the Catholic powers. With Arundel [illegible] on-in-law Lord Lumley, and they both of them lost not an hour in renewing their treasonable communication with Don Guerau and La Mothe Fénelon. They spoke in the same language which they had used before the rebellion. They meant to overthrow Cecil and Bacon, release the Duke of Norfolk, marry him to the Queen of Scots, and restore the Catholic religion.[2] The Duke of Norfolk was to be liberated as soon as possible and sent down to the eastern counties among his own people; and, meanwhile, Cecil should not be allowed to trouble Scotland. The fugitive earls should remain there till France or Spain or both would send them assistance; they would then come back over the borders, and England would rise to receive them.[3]

These were the men whom Leicester had brought back to Elizabeth's side, and their first effort was to impress upon her the necessity of taking the advice of Maitland, and of abandoning the hope of extricating herself by force from the combinations

[1] Confession of Christofer Norton and Captain Styrley, April, 1570: *Domestic MSS.*

[2] If they could not move the queen by fair means, they said "qu'ils en essayeront quelque autre plus violent; car desirant, comment que soit, pourvoir aulx desordres de ce Royaulme, et au faict de la Royne d'Escosse, et aulx affaires du Duc de Norfolk, et encores plus expressement s'ilz peuvent quant ils en auront le moyen au restablissement de la religion Catholique, pour lesquelles quatre choses ils veulent tout hazarder."—March 27, *Dépêches de La Mothe Fénelon.*

Don Guerau wrote to Philip on the same day exactly to the same purpose.

[3] Ibid.

to request her to give them back their queen, and to protest
inst the violation of Scotch territory by an English army.
Elizabeth was touched to the quick. She could have borne
remonstrances of the Scots. It might be necessary to restore
ry Stuart—it seemed that she was slowly making up her
nd to it[1]—but the lords at Linlithgow were not to suppose
at they might maintain her revolted subjects in arms, assist
hem in open invasion, and parade their insolence before the
orld.

The four thousand men were by this time collected at Berwick.
Sussex had gone up to take the command, and had written to
Morton to learn what part he intended to take. It would have
been death to Morton, in the existing excitement, had he seemed
to sanction an English inroad, unless it was undertaken avowedly
to maintain the king. The irritation was so violent at Edin-
burgh that Randolph had been obliged to leave the town and
join Sussex, and Morton could only say that till Elizabeth was
pleased to declare her purposes with less obscurity he could do
nothing.[2] She had been on the point of revoking Sussex's com-
mission, but in her anger at the convention it had been allowed
to stand, and Sussex, sending to Morton to say that in what he
was about to do he intended merely to chastise such of the
borderers as had made incursions into England, prepared to
execute the queen's original commands. "Before the light of
the coming moon was passed" he proposed to leave a memory in
Scotland, whereby they and their children should be afraid to
offer war to England.[3]

A messenger from the lords came to say that "if he entered
in hostile manner they would not allow it; his mistress might
not take upon herself to order the realm of Scotland." They
had written again to Elizabeth, and they required him to hol
his hand till an answer could be returned.[4] Sussex, anxious t
recover his credit for energy, declined to wait till his mistress ha
changed her mind. He replied that he neither dared nor wou
forbear to use her majesty's forces against her rebels wheres
ever they might be, or against those who had broken the pea
burned and killed her majesty's subjects, and taken and

[1] La Mothe writes, "qu'elle est bien disposée envers sa personne e
vie, comme je crois qu'elle ny a heu jamais mauvaise intention, et
mesme elle goutte aulcunement sa restitution et ne la rejecte tant qu
souloit."—*Dépêches*, April 18.
[2] Sussex to Elizabeth, April 10: *MSS. Border*.
[3] Sussex to Cecil, April 10: Ibid.
[4] Petition of the Lords at Linlithgow, April 16: *MSS. Scotland*.

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ges" adjoining, Sussex and Hunsdon, with two or three
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herefore laid powder barrels in the cellar, and of the present
"house" there are but a few fragments which survived that
desolating visit.

From Hawick the soldiers spread in parties about the country,
converging back upon Jedburgh and Kelso, and thence at the
end of the week they returned to Berwick, not a Scot having
ventured a stroke to save his property.

Scrope meanwhile had been no less active. Buccleuch and
Fernihurst were the chief offenders on the east marches.
Scrope's duty was to inflict chastisement on Herries and Maxwell.
On the Tuesday night he crossed the Esk and began his work at
daybreak on Wednesday at Ecclefechan. After destroying
this he burnt the country to the south and east of Dumfries and
round by Cummartrees to Annan. Eight or ten villages, called
towns in the old reports, were set on fire, and the corn, cattle, and
all they contained consumed or carried off. As his numbers
were smaller, the Scots looked on less patiently; a party whom
Scrope had detached under one of the Musgraves to destroy a
place called Blackshaw, was set upon by Maxwell and was in
some danger; but Scrope coming up himself while the fight wa
going on, the Scots drew off into the woods, and Musgrav
finished his work at leisure.

There remained Hume Castle, which had been specially fort
fied and was held by a garrison. This stronghold at least th
Scots expected would be safe, and they had carried such pr
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and took it after four hours' bombardment. Fastcastle,
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people had begun, by burning everything that was left; after which, while Foster was making an end of "the towns and villages" adjóining, Sussex and Hunsdon, with two or three companies of horse, rode out to Branxholme to do vengeance on Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch. The Scotts were so powerful that Branxholme had been a kind of sanctuary. They found it "a very strong house well set with pleasant gardens and orchards about it well kept," a little island of beauty in the surrounding black desolation. Buccleuch had anticipated the invaders by himself applying the torch, and "the woodwork was burnt to their hand as cruelly as they could have burnt it themselves; but the place would still serve the purpose of a fortress; Sussex therefore laid powder barrels in the cellar, and of the present "house" there are but a few fragments which survived that desolating visit.

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had failed after one bold step. She continued privately to te to Maitland, and Maitland was able to give out that Mary art was certainly coming back;[1] and with this prospect the g's party felt obliged, in common prudence, to make their ace without longer delay. It might have been thought that izabeth would have had no objection. A composition, a re-onciliation of parties, and a voluntary re-acceptance of the eposed queen, had been all along what she seemed to have esired. But she had conditions, necessary as she supposed for her own security, which she meant to make the price of Mary Stuart's release, and she could extort them only so long as t king's party continued in Scotland, whom she could threaten to support if they were refused. If a united Scottish Parliament demanded her liberation, Elizabeth knew that she could not dare any longer to detain her, and the Leith treaty would be left un-signed, and Mary Stuart, with half her subjects at her back, would again call herself Queen of England. The Protestant lords perfectly understood her embarrassment and had no intention of sacrificing themselves for her convenience.[2]

[1] "Lidington gives out plainly that the Queen of England is determined to send home their queen and maintain her faction, and this encourages them and appals their contrary."—Hunsdon to Cecil: *MSS. Border*, April 23.

[2] Sussex performed the ungracious office of forcing Elizabeth to look the situation in the face.

"The king's lords," he wrote to her, "for lack of maintenance see only destruction to themselves; the rather for that it is delivered to them that your majesty intends to restore their mistress. If it be your majesty's intention to bring all Scotland to the mother's side, then is the course good they now begin to run in that country, and your highness shall see the case at an end quickly, which, under correction, had been better to have been done under your direction than at their own choice. If, on the other hand, your majesty intend to let this course and to continue a part for the child, then must you of necessity openly take upon you the main-tenance of his authority as king; send presently money to such as tak his part to levy for a time men of war of their own, and aid them besid with your forces here to bring the rest to yield to that authority: to g in their hands all the strengths in any part of the realm that stand in place to receive any foreign power."—Sussex to Elizabeth, April 2 *MSS. Scotland*.

Two days later he wrote to the same effect to Cecil.

"If her majesty lack a sufficient party, the fault is in herself. Mor and his faction say that if she will enter into public maintenance of king, and send money to entertain 3000 soldiers of their own for th months, and command the force here to aid them for that time, they bring all Scotland in effect to obey their authority and yield in sens England without the queen's charges. The time passes away, and majesty must resolve what she will do. If she will restore the Sco queen, it was no good policy for me to show countenance on the side. If she will maintain the other side and command me to join them, I will make all men within thirty miles of the border obey

The lady at Tutbury, meanwhile, was making Europe ring with her cries. It was not for herself that she now pleaded, but for her country, which the ancient enemy was invading and laying waste. She besieged Charles IX. and Catherine de Medici with entreaties to rouse themselves out of their sleep, and hurry to the rescue of their old allies. To the Spanish ambassador she wrote, that if Philip and Alva sat still her cause would be ruined for ever, and with it the Holy Catholic faith.[1] Driving the [illegible]

[illegible]

the pope, ignorant as yet what he had done for her, she poured out an impassioned flood of pious rhetoric. She described herself as longing for the time when she could uproot heresy and restore the blessed faith of Christ. She besought him to lay his injunctions on the Catholic princes to stand her friends in the hour of trial, or else, since they seemed so remiss, she asked his gracious absolution if she made use of perfidy, if, like Naaman, she bowed her head in the House of Rimmon, plied Elizabeth[3] with loving letters and smooth speeches and cunning presents, and so tempted her, through false confidence, to unlock her cage.[4]

Unfortunately for Mary Stuart's prospects she had too many friends. France and Spain both wished her well, but could not trust each other, and neither could trust the pope. In Scotland, "some were desperately affected Protestants;"[5] some, like Maitland, desired to marry her to Norfolk; some to a native [illegible]

[illegible]

queen, advise her to do it in convenient sort, and suffer me not to put my finger in the fire without cause, and her to be drawn into it by such degrees as are neither honourable nor sure"—Sussex to Cecil, April 25: *MSS. Hatfield.*

[1] La Reyna de Escocia á Don Guerau de Espes, April, 1570: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Mary Stuart to the Duke of Norfolk, March 19 and April 18: LABANOFF, vol. iii.

[3] She did not call her queen.

[4] "Quod ego Elizabetham literis amanter scriptis, donis affabre factis aliisque symbolis humanitatis datis in amorem benevolentiamque mei illiciam."—Message from Mary Stuart to the pope sent through the Bishop of Ross, April 20: LABANOFF, vol. iii.

[5] George Chamberlain to the Duchess of Feria, April 5: *MSS. Spain. Rolls House.*

, a Gordon or a Hamilton. The Cardinal of Lorraine
ined her for the Duke of Anjou; the King of Spain and Alva
in such a marriage the death-blow to the Spanish empire.[1]
England some wished her out of the country, her presence
ere being so dangerous to the queen; others wished to keep
r there as heir presumptive and Norfolk's wife: Protestants
shed it because Norfolk was outwardly a Protestant; Catholics
ecause they believed Norfolk to be a Catholic at heart, and to
e waiting only for the completion of the marriage to declare
imself. Others, again—the Catholics proper, who had been
ersecuted, who had kept up the practice of their faith in fou
weather and fair; the conspirators of the northern counties,
or those who shared the feelings expressed in the Lincolnshire
address to Philip—had no confidence in Norfolk, and little in the
Queen of Scots. They were willing to support her claim to the
succession, for they had no alternative; but they would have her
a dependent upon Spain, married, if possible, to Don John of
Austria, or so married, at any rate, that her husband should
be a Catholic indeed who had never stained his faith by a
seeming apostasy.[2] Yet they, too, had their misgivings and
their uncertainties. The friends of England at Edinburgh
were "appalled" by the vacillation of Elizabeth. The English
admirers of Spain were "dismayed by the careless regard"
with which Philip looked on upon their sufferings, and were
beginning to think that they had no refuge but in God. "The
Spaniards," said Sir Francis Englefield, "dwelt and busied
themselves so long in deliberation that the opportunity was gone
before they could resolve to act." Philip threw the responsi-
bility upon Alva; and Alva "would do no iota more than came
expressly commanded by his sovereign."[3]

Elizabeth herself was still the truest friend that the Queen of
of Scots possessed. If the threat of turning Protestant had been
fulfilled in sincerity; if the lying demonstrations of affection i
which Mary Stuart asked the pope's permission to indulge ha
been made in earnest; or if, with or without affection, the co
spiring and intriguing had been conclusively abandoned, Eliza
beth would indisputably have sent her back to Scotland, replace
and maintained her on the throne, and would have yielded
last, however monstrous it might have seemed, on the lo

[1] Don Guerau to Philip, April 25: *MSS. Simancas.*
[2] Chamberlain to the Duchess of Feria, April 5: Sir T. Englefield
the Duchess of Feria, May 17: *MSS. Spain.*
[3] Englefield to the Duchess of Feria, May 17: Ibid.

coveted point of the English succession. Without seeing the application for absolution, Elizabeth understood her prisoner [illegible] yet, [illegible] that [illegible], her [illegible]

Elizabeth answered boldly, that "to submit without resistance to the inroads of the borderers would be to abandon the English realm to be conquered by rebellion, and to yield her crown to any that would with force invade it." If "with the French king's help," however, "reasonable conditions could be made by which England could be secured from the Queen of Scots' [illegible]

wrote to Sussex detailing her many embarrassments and telling him that in some way he must keep the king's party together "till she had time to make choice whether she would restore the Queen of Scots or not." He might lay the blame on Morton; he might say "her backwardness had been rather his fault than hers;" "his manner of dealing had been slow and uncertain, and she had not known what to look for from him [illegible] while, on the other hand, he might tell Maitland not to be foolish and ungrateful; encourage the Protestants with hope; soothe the others with "quiet means and messages [illegible] to depend upon England.

So much for the Scots. "But [illegible] she [illegible] "would expect to know what she [illegible] and she [illegible] obliged to own frankly that she [illegible] It would [illegible] her in surety to have the king's party [illegible] touch her in honour if she [illegible] to stand with her, and in the [illegible] provided for; and there was [illegible] money, they might take [illegible]

[1] Instructions to Sir E. [illegible]

gotiations had begun to make progress, when they were terrupted by the appearance of two pamphlets, which had been printed on the Continent, and had been brought over and circulated in London. They were both written by the bishop. The first was the celebrated treatise already alluded to "in defence of Queen Mary's honour." The other was a genealogical statement of her claims upon the English crown. The latter contained nothing on which a complaint could be founded. The subject was an extremely dangerous one, but the Queen of Scots' pedigree was a public fact which could not be disputed. The former was a plea of "not guilty" to the charge that she had murdered Darnley. The bishop had no more doubt of her complicity, as he afterwards admitted, than the rest of the world. Even in his defence he argued that, supposing the charges to be true, she was no worse than David, and David had not been deposed. But the mutilated shape in which Elizabeth had let the investigation close, enabled him to say that her conduct had been inquired into, and that she had not been found guilty, and he had added that the English nobility generally regarded her as innocent.

The two publications and their composition formed part of a scheme which had been secretly arranged with the Catholics, but unhappily the bishop was premature. It had been agreed that every demand which Elizabeth might make should be conceded, that the treaty might not be interrupted. The detention of the Queen of Scots would perhaps be continued for some time after its completion, but the Duke of Norfolk would probably be liberated. He too was to promise anything; to promise t think no more of the Queen of Scots; to promise not to distur the established religion. Promises lightly made could b lightly broken,[1] and the duke, once out and among his ow people, could do what he pleased. The pamphlets were th to have appeared, and with them, or immediately after, the Bu of Deposition. A nuncio had come from Rome to Paris with

[1] "Los deste consejo blandian mas con el Duque de Norfolk, y me h avisado que mañana han de venir Cecil y otro del Consejo á hablarles la Torre, y ver que seguridad podra dar á la Reyna de su fidelidad de casarse con la Reyna de Escocia, y de no ayudar á rimover esta relig que acá tienen. *El esta advertido de ofrecerles mucho.* . . . Seria poss que salga presto; en lo cual puede considerar Va Excelencia ques a puede con gran facilidad librar la de Escocia y alterar todo el reyno. es bien que haga mas con el amparo del Rey nro Señor que de Franc y estando Va Exa resuelto en esto general, escribire en lo partic algunas cosas que me parece se podran hacer convenientes á esta fir Descifrada. Don Gueran de Espes al Duque de Alva, Mayo, 1570:

hat and sword for Charles, and the pope had hoped and desired that it should be formally published in the nuncio's presence there. But France, like Spain, had refused the necessary permission. A copy had been smuggled over to England in cipher by Ridolfi; and Ridolfi, and La Mothe, and the Bishop of Ross were watching for the moment at which to launch it.[1] The bull once out, Spain or France was expected to strike in. The [illegible]

[illegible]

a few weeks at most.

This was the programme, and this was the meaning of the bishop's complacency in the treaty. The "Defence" was unfortunately inconsistent with the humility of his attitude. It was the first indication to the English government that the plea of innocence would seriously be set forward in the Queen of Scots' behalf. He was sent for to Bacon's house and required to explain what he meant by saying that the nob[illegible] believed her guilt. He said that she had offered to defend herself in the Queen of England's presence, the Queen of England had refused to hear her, and she was therefore held acquit[illegible] the charge.

Bacon carried "the books" to the queen [illegible] the yielding humour which would have allowed the [illegible] was instantly hardened. Arundel, to counter[illegible] brought forward La Mothe, and the queen was t[illegible] France could not and would not allow Mary Stuart [illegible] England. Elizabeth fired up in her proudest style.

"She was astonished," she said [illegible] the King of France should think so lightly of the Quee[illegible] [illegible] friends had given shelter to the E[illegible] with [illegible] and connivance they had levied [illegible] sword. No sovereign in Europe [illegible] provocation, and she would [illegible]

ment. The Bishop of Ross had said that the abdication of Lochleven went for nothing. Francis I. had disowned the engagements with which he had bound himself in Spain; and even Maitland had been heard to say that promises given under restraint were nothing.[1] The Earl of Westmoreland, notwithstanding the harrying of the borders, was still the guest of the Hamiltons."

Bacon caught the opportunity, while the indignation at the bishop's book was fresh, to urge her to strike another blow in Scotland, and show France that she was not to be frightened by La Mothe's threats. Lennox had gone down to Berwick, and couriers followed him with orders to Sussex again to set his troops in motion.

Sussex himself had caught a cold by sleeping in the air at Hawick; the cold had been followed by fever, and he could not leave his bed. But Sir William Drury, the marshal of the army, would be as useful in the field as himself. The borders had suffered sufficiently; the Hamiltons were the centre of the anti-English confederacy, and no heavier blow could be dealt to Mary Stuart, no material support short of the recognition of the king could be given more effectively to Morton, than a direct attack on Chatelherault himself.

On the 10th of May the army was again in Scottish territory on its mission of destruction, with the Earl of Lennox in Drury's company as the representative of James, and Morton, taking courage at last, gave them a formal and friendly reception at Edinburgh. The news of their coming flew swiftly to Chatelherault, and the duke and his sons unable to defend themselves at home, made a dash on Glasgow Castle, surprised the gates, and forced their way into the inner court; but they were repulsed with loss and retired with Westmoreland into the Highlands, while Drury, Morton, and Lennox advanced leisurely upon Hamilton. They carried guns with them, and after a few shots the garrison left by the duke capitulated. The plunder was given to the soldiers. The castle itself, the town, "half a score of villages," and all the houses of the Hamilton family in the neighbourhood were burnt and blown up. Dumbarton ought to have followed, for Dumbarton was an open port through which the French at any time could have access into Scotland.

[1] The words which Maitland was said to have used were—"Quæ in vinculis aguntur rata non habebo et frangenti fidem, fides frangatur eidem."—*Dépêches de La Mothe Fénelon*, May 8, 1570. Compare *MSS.* MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, May, 1570, *Rolls House*.

But Drury was tied by his orders and could not meddle with it. While his troops halted at Glasgow, he went down with a party of horse to survey the fortress for future contingencies He was [illegible]

the regent had been shot was destroyed, with every building or homestead belonging to any of the Hamilton's name or lineage; and with this emphatic act of justice the English at the end of the month returned to Edinburgh.

Meanwhile a remarkable event had taken place in London. Desperate at this second invasion and the failure of La Mothe's threats, the Bishop of Ross had played the card which he had [illegible]

had been tried before against Henry VIII and had effected nothing. The superstitious terrors once attaching to the Vatican thunders had long disappeared But Elizabeth was not Henry, and the England and the Europe of 1570 were not the England and the Europe of 1539 In some respects the advantage was with the queen The Catholic Church had no longer the prestige of ancient sovereignty, for the first time disturbed and broken. It no longer counted among its friends men of noble intelligence like Sir Thomas More It was disgraced by the cruelties which had attended its restoration under Mary, and its strength lay now among the meaner elements of secret conspiracy and disaffection. On the other hand, as the doctrinal tendencies of the Reformation had developed themselves, the division line of the two creeds had become more strongly marked. The instinctive dislike of English gentlemen for revolutionary [illegible]

more dangerous fanaticism, a fanaticism which no longer showed itself in open and organised political opposition, but was not afraid of treason, rebellion, or murder, which fraternised with *foreign invaders, and was ready to sacrifice the interests of* England to the interests of the Church.

On the Continent, too, the Council of Trent had closed the prospect of ecclesiastical reconciliation. The Catholics, wherever they could have their way, showed a desperate and uncompromising determination to destroy the Reformers with fire and sword; and although France and Spain were still political antagonists and neutralised each other's influence by their mutual jealousies, it must have seemed but too likely, to the anxious minds of English statesmen, that the pope would find means at last to put an end to differences which so far had been their only protection.

When the excommunication appeared, Elizabeth was assured that it had been issued with the sanction of one or both of the great powers. That the pope would have taken so considerable a step without consulting them appeared extremely improbable; and taken in connection with La Mothe's language, it seemed to tell her that her time at last was come. The Channel fleet was instantly reinforced: Lord Clinton took the command in person, with orders to sink at once and without question any French transports that he might find carrying troops to Scotland. The country could on the whole be relied on if attacked only by France; but the questions of internal policy, and of the Queen of Scots especially, became more deeply complicated. The uncertainties revived. The advocates of the Queen of Scots' restoration were able to insist upon their arguments with increased plausibility, and a great meeting of the privy council was called at their instance to consider the situation.

From the moment that Lennox had been sent to Berwick, Arundel had never ceased to remonstrate. Sharp words had been exchanged between him and Cecil in the queen's presence. Arundel had been speaking as usual in favour of the Bishop of Ross and the treaty, when Cecil burst out that the queen had no friends but the Protestants, and if she yielded she would lose them all.

Elizabeth hated the naked truth. She said that Cecil's passion made him blind: she felt herself entangled in a net which threatened to strangle her. She declared that she would do what the French king desired, and shake herself clear, let Cecil and "his brothers in Christ" say what they pleased.[1]

[1] "Quoiqu'il y ait Maistre Secretaire, dict elle, je veulx sortir hors de ceste affaire, et entendre à ce que le Roy me mande, et ne m'en arrester plus à vous aultres frères en Christ." The authority for the scene was Leicester, who was present, and reported it to La Mothe. Leicester, who had more faces than Proteus, is in general not much to be depended on. La Mothe however believed that he was speaking the truth, and the phrase

Bacon, who was as anxious as Cecil to prevent the Scotch question from being rediscussed till Drury had finished his work, attempted to leave London to prevent the council from meeting; but Arundel caught him before he could escape and told him that the queen required his presence and advice. Bacon, whose temper was hasty, answered shortly that it was of no use to advise the queen; she changed her mind so often that counsel was but wasted on her. She would not listen to him, and as it seemed that she was bent upon her destruction, she must go her own way.

If Bacon was absent the discussion might be postponed, and Mary Stuart's friends in Scotland would be destroyed in the meantime. Arundel persisted that the lord keeper must return

[illegible]

the public policy of England was discussed in Elizabeth's presence. Bedford was ill; Clinton was with the fleet; of the rest every one, with the exception of Cecil and the lord keeper, recommended the recall of Drury, the immediate resumption of the negotiations, and the release of the Queen of Scots at the earliest possible moment. some, like Arundel, were deliberately treacherous, some were frightened, some sincerely believed that the course which they advised would be the best both for their mistress and for England. All agreed, however, in one conclusion, and Leicester, as if taking upon himself to speak for the queen, said that violent measures were found too dangerous to be ventured further; her majesty intended to take the opinion of the more moderate of her councillors, to come to an understanding with France, and replace the Queen of Scots on her throne.

It was no time for euphuisms or delicate phrases. The lord keeper had been forced to attend. The queen desired his opinion, and she should have it. "Her majesty," he said, "was deceived and trifled with. The men whose advice she was preparing to follow were the secret servants of the Queen of Scots. The French ambassador threatened war; but he spoke for the Cardinal of Lorraine, and not for the king. The king his master had work enough on hand at home and would not meddle with England.

"After what you have done and are doing in Scotland," he continued, "you cannot now turn back: courage alone is safety,

" Brothers in Christ " is highly characteristic of Elizabeth —Instructions au Sieur de Vassal: *Dépêches*, vol. iii. p. 181.

ourage and persistence. Go on as you have begun, and there
ill be soon no queen's party, no French party, no Catholic party
o trouble that country more. English influence will be supreme
here, and religion, the Protestant religion, will be established
beyond reach of harm from end to end of Britain. No advice
but this will be given to our sovereign by any loyal Englishman.
This course alone befits the greatness of her crown; and in this
quarrel I will live or die. It is not for the majesty of England to
be frightened by the threats of an ambassador. How think you
her father King Henry would have dealt with such miserable
counsels? You, my lord," he went on, turning to Leicester,
"you pretend to be loyal to your mistress, and you are in league
with the worst of her enemies. If France lands a force in
England to try to take the Queen of Scots from us, with her
majesty's permission, I would strike her head from her shoulders
with my own hands."

"In what I said," replied Leicester, "I spoke according to my
honour and conscience. I will maintain my opinion if necessary
with my life, against all who impugn it. It is my duty as a
councillor to declare what I truly think. Her majesty may do
as she will, I hold to my own convictions, and I speak for others
besides myself."

Elizabeth looked angrily from one speaker to the other.
Neither the favourite nor the lord keeper had pleased her. But
the lord keeper had offended her most: "his counsels," she said,
"were like himself, rash and dangerous;" she would not have
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Scots should they mislead their mistress at such a crisis; le
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irritate, and would lead in the end to a war with the continental powers, which England was in no condition to sustain. The French ambassador could not have spoken so peremptorily without commission, and to withdraw from any enterprise to preserve the peace of the world was neither dishonourable nor dangerous. Henry VIII. might possibly have persevered, but under Henry VIII. England was loyal and united, and even Henry himself did not venture upon a war with France without the emperor for an ally. Now the whole situation was altered. The Catholic king was estranged. The English people were discontented and divided Let her majesty secure peace at home, let her deserve the friendship and confidence of other princes, and she would do what was right and just in the sight of God and man."[1]

But for the revelations in the despatches of Don Guerau, but for the evidence that he had been for years conspiring for a religious revolution and Elizabeth's overthrow, Lord Arundel might have been credited with a mistaken but still honest anxiety to extricate his mistress from her embarrassments. Elizabeth herself construed his words favourably When the next morning Leicester pressed her to give an audience to the Bishop of Ross, she answered sharply that the Queen of Scots seemed very near his heart, but she sent an order to Scotland for the recall of the army

castle; but the queen's commands were peremptory; he made the necessary excuses and fell back at once to Berwick.

pectation that she could recover their confidence or induce them any more to look upon her as a friend. Had her fluctuations been assumed to cover a purpose which in her heart she had definitely formed; had she been hypocritical and deceitful, and not weak and uncertain, such no doubt would have been the effect. She would have seen that she had gone too far to retreat, she would have avowed her real purpose and gone through with it. But Elizabeth was very different from all this. The principles which divided her council divided herself from herself.

[1] This singular discussion is described by La Mothe.—*Dépêches*, vol. iii. p. 131. It was perhaps protracted through several sessions, and did not all take place on the same day.

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In the pause which followed, Arundel struck in with affected moderation.

"They were met," he said, "to consider certain dangers which threatened the realm, and neither from anger nor passion nor from any love or hatred which they might feel for the Queen of Scots should they mislead their mistress at such a crisis; least of all should they quarrel among themselves, for the situation demanded all the prudence and discretion which they possessed. He thought for himself that to support by force the party in Scotland, who for whatever cause were in arms against their sovereign, was neither wise, just, nor advantageous. The expense would be enormous, the difficulties far more considerable than those who recommended that course appeared to imagine. It would offend a powerful party in England whom it was unsafe to

irritate, and would lead in the end to a war with the continental powers, which England was in no condition to sustain. The French ambassador could not have spoken so peremptorily without commission, and to withdraw from any enterprise to preserve the peace of the world was neither dishonourable nor dangerous. Henry VIII might possibly have persevered, but under Henry VIII. England was loyal and united, and even *Henry himself did not venture upon a war with France without* the emperor for an ally. Now the whole situation was altered. The Catholic king was estranged. The English people were discontented and divided Let her majesty secure peace at home, let her deserve the friendship and confidence of other princes, and she would do what was right and just in the sight of God and man." [1]

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castle; but the queen's commands were peremptory; he made the necessary excuses and fell back at once to Berwick.

It might have been thought, as Cecil hoped and Bacon said, that Elizabeth, after inflicting punishment so tremendous on Mary Stuart's friends, would not have deceived herself with the expectation that she could recover their confidence or induce them any more to look upon her as a friend. Had her fluctuations been assumed to cover a purpose which in her heart she had definitely formed; had she been hypocritical and deceitful, and not weak and uncertain, such no doubt would have been the

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She had no sooner committed herself to one course of action than the merits of another became doubly obvious to her, while it gratified her sense of power to strike and to smile, to be alternately the lightning and the sunshine.

She perhaps flattered herself that the Scots, after suffering from the invasion, would come to her feet like children beaten into submission; a letter from Maitland to Sussex indicated that they were as yet far from any such condition.

"You tell me," Maitland wrote, "that her majesty's forces are revoked. I am glad thereof more than I was at their coming, and it is not amiss for their ease to have a breathing time and some rest between one exploit and another. This is the third journey they have made in Scotland since your lordship came to the borders, and have been so occupied in every one of them, that it might well be said, if the amity and good intelligence between the realms would permit that phrase of language, to term the Englishmen as our forefathers were wont to do—they have reasonably well acquit themselves of the duty of old enemies, and have burnt and spoiled as much ground within Scotland as any army of England did in one year, these hundred years bypast, which may suffice for a two months' work, although you do no more. The rude people in Scotland will sometimes speak rashly after their fashion, but I am content to follow the phrase of your language as better acquainted with the same, and say that you have not been idle in the pursuit of her majesty's rebels." [1]

The order of the day, however, was once more to be conciliation. The Bishop of Ross, after a short delay, was admitted to an audience. He swore that he had known nothing of the rebellion, and although Elizabeth possessed the clearest evidence to the contrary, she affected to believe him. He was sent down to Chatsworth, to which his mistress had been removed, to talk over the intended arrangements, and the queen, for the further guidance of Lord Sussex, told him that although in all worldly things there were some uncertainties, she had made up her mind to the course which promised least disadvantage. The Queen of Scots would have been long since restored "but for such impediments as from time to time had been ministered by herself." There was now a better prospect of a good conclusion. Both parties in Scotland must lay down their arms. She would take care of the interests of the lords who had supported the king, and Sussex must learn from them what conditions they would

[1] Maitland to Sussex, June 2: *MSS. Scotland.*

consider, satisfactory. In fact they had better send commissioners with full powers to London. Discretion should be used in opening the matter to them; "discomfort" might otherwise make them desperate

As to the troops at Berwick, the exchequer would no longer bear the expense of their maintenance. To disband them publicly might be too patent a confession of weakness, and Sussex was ordered therefore to get rid of them "in some secret and indirect sort." [1]

The conspirators in London, meanwhile, were in high spirits at their victory over Cecil and Bacon, and in full assurance of success T[illegible]
Elizabet[illegible]
Bishop [illegible]
with Don Guerau. Don Guerau recommended that to mislead Elizabeth she should still seem to comply with every demand which might be made upon her, while the Catholics should hold themselves ready for a universal insurrection the instant that she was free. La Mothe had served the bishop's turn upon the council; it seems that he had more trust in Spain for assistance in the field The fear was that France might get the start and secure Mary Stuart for Anjou.[3] The papal nuncio at Paris was strongly in favour of the match, and the pope was ready to grant the necessary dispensation [4] It was thought that a possibility so much dreaded would rouse Alva from his inaction. Philip's new queen [5] was on her way through the Netherlands to Madrid. Her voyage and the insecurity of the seas had required the assembly of a powerful escort, and the fleet which was floating on the Scheldt could be directed to a second purpose if an opportunity presented itself for a sudden landing at the mouth of the Thames. If by any means the release of the Queen of Scots could be effected, fifteen or twenty thousand men could be thrown across before Elizabeth could have notice of her danger.

[1] Elizabeth to Sussex, May 31 *MSS. Scotland*
[illegible]

The Catholics would immediately rise, Mary Stuart would be proclaimed, France paralysed, the queen taken prisoner, and Cecil and his party destroyed. The country would be conquered without a struggle, the pirate fleets annihilated, and, among other happy issues, the revolution that overthrew Elizabeth would end the rebellion in the Low Countries.[1] By disbanding her army she was preparing her neck for the stroke.

Thus it was agreed between the bishop and Don Guerau that no concessions however extravagant should be refused. When the Queen of Scots' foot was on her own soil they would crumble to pieces of themselves.

After parting from the ambassador, the bishop ventured to the lodgings of the young Lord Southampton, one of the intended leaders of the insurrection, for with him too there was much to arrange and explain. It happened that Southampton's house was one of those on which Cecil was keeping a watch. This nobleman had been notoriously favourable to the enterprise of the northern earls, and in fact he had been on the edge of declaring for them. After his defeat in the council, Cecil had redoubled his private vigilance, and the Bishop of Ross was seen stealing at midnight from the door. He had started by daybreak for Chatsworth; the information came too late for his detention; but the queen's suspicions were violently reawakened, if indeed they had ever really slept. The preparations in the Scheldt had alarmed her also: and almost at the same moment came the unwelcome news that Lord Morley, Lord Derby's son-in-law, whose loyalty had been hitherto unquestioned, had withdrawn without leave from England, and had gone to Brussels to the Duke of Alva. A letter which he wrote to the queen when he was beyond her reach did not tend to reassure her. Lord Morley accused Cecil and Bacon of ruining the country, persecuting the nobility, and introducing into England the wildest and worst of the revolutionary passions of the Continent. He said that the ancient

[1] "*En el mismo tiempo con quinze ó viente mill infantes y la caballeria* que pareciese conveniente entrar por esta Isla, haciendo levantar todos los Catolicos, los quales, si se aseguran de la persona de la Reyna, tendrian la mayor parte de la empresa acabada, y aun asegurarse luego de Cecil y Leicester y Bedford seria muy conveniente, y no menos el tomar la armada en Rochester. *Todo lo qual es harto facil,* y no falta sino persona principal para executar, y en todo pretender el nombre de la Reyna de Escocia por hallar menos contradiction en el reyno, y no dar sospecha á los vezinos. Yo tengo por cierto que sino es por esta via jamas el reyno de Inglaterra siendo Protestante dexara de inquietar las cosas de Flandes. A todo ello viene muy á proposito la passada de la Magd de la Reyna Nra Señora."—Descifrada de G. D'Espes á su Magd. Londres, 12 de Junio, 1570: *MSS. Simancas.*

order, the honourable traditions of the realm, were set at nought by them. They had maintained "that the opinions of the peers were of no importance," "that her highness and the Commons might make laws without the nobles." "How a prince could stand without a body of nobility, he recommended her highness to consider;" and he trusted that a time would come when "she would discover their practices and weigh them and others as they had deserved." [1]

It was not the way to work upon Elizabeth. Southampton was at once arrested, and also Sir Thomas Cornwallis, Queen Mary's old minister. Elizabeth sent for La Mothe, and began moodily to talk to him of the bull, and of the name by which the pope had described her as "the servant of iniquity." The world

had promised the French king to send her back, and if she was let alone she meant to do it, but if France sent one man to Scotland she would hold herself acquitted of her engagement; she would send her army back to Edinburgh, Mary Stuart should remain prisoner for her life, and if war came it must come.[2]

to move with greater caution The king's lords, who had been but just informed that they were to prepare to receive back Mary Stuart, "were now to be told that in no wise they should shrink or yield; and whatever the Queen of Scots or her friends

situation than these unlucky lords Chatelherault had proclaimed the queen. Elizabeth had withdrawn the indirect sanction which she had given to the election of Lennox in Murray's place, and they had neither regent nor recognised authority among them. She had fed them with doses of alternate warmth and coldness, and her invasions and burnings had done them more harm than good, for she had tempted them to join

[1] Lord Morley to Elizabeth from Bruges, June 8 *MSS. Domestic.*
[2] *Dépêches*, June 16, June 19, June 21, vol. iii.
[3] The Queen to Sussex, June 6: *MSS Scotland.*

in the demolition of Hamilton Castle, and then by her desertion had exposed them to be destroyed by their adversaries. The Abbot of Dunfermline had found her impatient for the treaty, and had come back with an intimation that they must prepare for the return of the queen. Lennox, Angus, Glencairn, Mar, Morton, the Master of Graham, Lindsay, Ruthven, Borthwick, Ochiltree, all the lords remaining on the side of the little king, had assembled at Stirling to receive the answer to their petition, and when it came in such a form "their long silence manifested the heaviness of their hearts."

When Sussex received the queen's second letter he sent Randolph on to them, and Randolph was able in some degree to reassure them; but they told him distinctly that if they were to hold together they must and would appoint a regent. They sent again to Elizabeth to say that "it was impossible for them to continue as they were;" and Sussex, who trusted that his mistress had recovered her senses, added of himself that the idea of sending back the queen had better be abandoned once and for ever. "If her majesty would be pleased to command him, he would himself take the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton in twenty days, and either bring all Scotland to the king's obedience in like time after, or leave the queen's friends not a castle standing."[1]

Elizabeth, however, was like a jaded horse, stung by the lash into momentary action, but lapsing speedily into lagging and weary motion. She brooded over the pope's excommunication. She harassed herself with the belief that she was to be the object of a European crusade. The Duke of Norfolk plied her from the Tower with letters which were piteously submissive. His physician wrote that his health was breaking under his confinement, and that if he remained in the Tower he would die.[2] The Bishop of Ross reported from Chatsworth that his mistress was so anxious to please the queen that Cecil might dictate his conditions. Title, religion, alliances—she would make no difficulties about any of them. "After so many storms her wish was to live in quietness;" and for his own part, the bishop would count himself most happy if he could unite their majesties in heart, mind, and bonds indissoluble.[3]

Elizabeth was on her guard against the bishop, and the

[1] Sussex to Cecil, June 19: *MSS. Scotland.*

[2] Norfolk to the Queen, June 18; Report of the Duke of Norfolk's health, June —; Norfolk to Cecil, July 4: *MSS. Domestic.*

[3] The Bishop of Ross to Cecil, June 26: *Cotton MSS.* CALIG. C. ii. 15. Cf. *MSS.* MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, June 26, June 29, *Rolls House.*

another shortlived reconciliation between the queen-mother and the princes of the league Disinclined to encounter further the chances of a war which no battles seemed to end, the court

offered to pay the expe
king would persevere.
his subjects, and Prot
others' throats no longer.[1]

The change relieved Elizabeth from the fears of a crusade, and while it increased the chances of a quarrel between France and Spain, it enabled her to hope that between France and herself

and while Charles and Catherine still continued to intercede for her, the guarantees which they were ready to give that she should not abuse her freedom could now be depended upon.

Thus again the wind swung round. Cornwallis and Southampton were set at liberty. A tripartite treaty was proposed between France, England, and Scotland, a condition of which was to be the Queen of Scots' restoration, and Elizabeth said that she would be satisfied with sufficient securities for her own title, the surrender of the fugitive earls, and an undertaking on the part of Mary Stuart that she would not interfere with the religion established in Scotland She should not be pressed to

[1] Norris to Elizabeth, July 23: *MSS. France* [2] *Dépêches*, July 5.

not act in the matter herself, but if they were determined and desired her opinion, the Earl of Lennox she still thought was the fittest person for the place. But regent or no regent, the Queen of Scots professed a willingness to be guided entirely by her advice, and she could not in honour refuse to hear what her friends or herself would propose. The Queen of Scots was about to send Lord Livingston to treat with them, and Elizabeth trusted that they would not refuse to receive him or weaken their cause by needless alarm or panic.[1]

So many alterations, trying as they were to those immediately about the court, were maddening to the unfortunate officers at remote stations on the borders or abroad on whom was thrown the responsibility of action. It might well seem that Maitland after all best understood the Queen of England's character. At this last revolution a shout of triumph shot through Mary Stuart's party, and a cry as despairing from the lords. Buccleuch and Fernihurst, unable to restrain their delight, dashed into Northumberland, and carried off "a great booty of cattle," which they divided in triumph among the ruins of Jedburgh; and Sussex, in reporting this affair, told his mistress with some irony, that it was rather late, after all that she had made him do, to be talking of the restoration.[2] Chatelherault sent to France and Spain to say that now "with small support he would requite the Queen of England for her deceitful doings;"[3] while Randolph from the other side had to write "that the poor king would stand up naked for all that would be left to him. The lords would seek their own at the Scotch queen's hands. They had no confidence in the Queen of England, that had so often changed her course, and, though sore against their wills, they would now live with murderers and traitors to obey her whom neither by law, duty, nor conscience they held themselves bound to obey."[4]

They did indeed at last make Lennox regent, but this in itself, unless followed up by other measures, would do little to hold the party together. Each of the lords prepared to make his own terms for himself, and whatever happened, Elizabeth in Randolph's opinion would not have "a friend left in Scotland to serve her turn."[5]

[1] Elizabeth to Sussex, June 30, July 2: *MSS. Scotland.*
[2] Sussex to Elizabeth, July 8: *MSS. Border.*
[3] Commission from the Duke of Chatelherault, July —, 1570: *MSS. Scotland.*
[4] Randolph to Hunsdon and Sussex, July 5: Ibid.
[5] Randolph to Sussex, July 8: Ibid.

The ministers of the kirk and their congregations alone showed heart or courage The general assembly, forsaken as they were, met at Edinburgh, and passed a resolution, that whatever England might say, Mary Stuart should be no queen of theirs. Every pulpit in Scotland should ring with her enormities. If the lords and gentlemen interfered they should be excommunicate and held as rotten members unworthy of the society of Christ's body.[1]

For the dissatisfaction in Scotland, however, Elizabeth cared but little while she felt secure of France; and even Philip, it now seemed, unless the chance offered itself to revolutionise England, might defy the pope and his excommunication, and try to bribe over his sister-in-law to himself from her treaty with Charles and Catherine.

Towards Spain the aggressions of the privateers had rather increased than diminished Elizabeth was well aware that for the safety of the realm against invasion she must chiefly depend upon the force which she could keep in the Channel, and that it [illegible]

the tone of the French government was friendly an intimation was sent to the ports to let them pass, but on the whole little difference had been made The sea-going population regarded Papists generally as their natural enemies and their legitimate prey Forty or fifty sail—corsairs or privateers, according to the point of view from which they were regarded—held the coast from Dover to Penzance. The crews were English, French, or Flemish, united by a common creed and a common pursuit. They shifted their flags as suited their convenience, now sailing under a commission from the Prince of Orange, now from the Queen of Navarre They had friends and stores in every English harbour, and since the publication of the bull their trade had gone on more furiously than ever Every day prizes were brought in to Plymouth, Dover, or Southampton, the cargoes were sold, the ships armed and refitted.

The prisoners taken had met with the same mercy which Protestants in the Netherlands experienced from Alva, or the landless wretches in Yorkshire and Durham after the rebellion. At the end of July three richly laden traders on their way from Flanders to Spain were captured outside the Goodwins. They

[1] Determination of the General Assembly, July 7. *MSS. Scotland.*

had made a fight for it, and the crews one and all were flung into the sea.[1]

With peace in France the whole of these wild marauders would be diverted upon Spain. Don Guerau wrote that Hawkins was fitting out a squadron to cruise for the gold fleet; and that the government took no pains to prevent their depredations. It is certain that Philip had not as yet deserved at Elizabeth's hands so inveterate an animosity. For political reasons he had prevented France from declaring war against her. He had shown extraordinary forbearance in enduring injuries to which a great power like Spain could scarcely submit without dishonour. He had empowered Alva to act in concert with the English Catholics if he saw a fair opportunity; but the seizure of his treasure would have justified more immediate and decisive measures; and the discretion which he had left to Alva could have been no more than an excuse to his own subjects for his inaction, for he knew Alva to be as reluctant to move as himself. The Spanish nation was furious. The feelings of the proud and bigoted Castilians found expression in the intrigues of the ambassadors in England and in the successive entreaties of De Feria, the Bishop of Aquila, and now again Don Guerau for a descent from Flanders upon the English coast. But Philip lagged behind his people, and Alva knew or feared that if he struck at England France would send an army over his frontier and the Netherlands would again be on fire.

The danger of this last contingency was increased by the prospect of a reconciliation between the court of Paris and the Huguenots. If the leaders of the league came back to power the anti-Spanish policy of Francis and Henry would revive; and in the event of a rupture with France, the Netherlands could not possibly be held unless Elizabeth was at least neutral.

Could a revolution be accomplished in England as easily as Don Guerau imagined, then indeed his difficulties would have disappeared; but Philip was less sanguine than his ambassador.

[1] "De presente se satisfacen contener en este estrecho mas de cuarenta velas de armada como he avisado, en nombre del el Oranges, y de la Duquesa de Vendosme, y de Chastillon, que estan por todos estos puertos y entran y salen á su voluntad; y van en cada nao muchos Ingleses, de manera que estos son amigos de los piratas publicos enemigos nuestros y los favorecen, acogen y regalan, robando nos cada dia quantas naos pasan por este estrecho; y lo peor es que luego las arman y engrossan con ellas la armada. Continuan en tomar presas, y de pocos dias acá han tomado tres urcas muy ricas que iban á España de Flandes, y por haberse puesto á defensa, se dice que han muerto toda la gente y traen vendiendo las mercaderias por estos puertos."—Antonio de Guaras á Cayas, Junio 30 y Julio 23: *MSS. Simancas.* Compare La Mothe, *Dépêches*, July 25.

With the first hint that peace in France was possible, he sent word to Elizabeth through Don Francis de Alava that if the alliance between the crowns of England and Spain was broken it should be through no fault of his.[1] When the bull of excommunication was published he had directed Alva generally to do what he could for the Queen of Scots.[2] Elizabeth might die or be murdered, and it was necessary to be prepared for contingencies. But, as has been already seen, he expressed [illegible]

[illegible] than by force; and the Duke of Alva, in explaining the cause of the preparations [illegible]

[illegible] nts which [illegible] "I am [illegible] "I [illegible] I am [illegible] my master expressly desires me to assist her, but his wish is that the two queens should be reconciled, and that both should feel themselves under an obligation to himself I am trying all the fords in the stream, but I can find none that I like." [5]

With Spain in this humour and the Huguenots restored to favour in France, the political objections to the release of the Queen of Scots might be supposed to have been removed, or at least materially diminished Yet Bacon and Cecil remained unshaken in their dislike The winds shifted too rapidly, and the sky was still too threatening for the present calm to be relied

[1] "Que por mi parte no se romperá la antigua amistad y aliança que entre nosotros hay, sino que se la conservaremos con toda buena correspondencia y que ella debe hacer lo mismo"—Philip to Alava, May 17: TEULET, vol v

[2] "Escribo de nuevo al Duque de Alva que tenga mucha cuenta con la reyna de Escocia y la anime y la favorezca con palabras y otras en quanto fuese possible"—Philip to Don Guerau, June 30 *MSS Simancas.*

[3] The message was sent through Sir Henry Norris, Elizabeth's minister at Paris—Norris to the Queen, July 9· *MSS France*

[4] Correspondence de Philippe II, March and August, 1570, tom ii

[5] The Duke of Alva to Don Francis de Alava, July 29· TEULET, vol v.

upon. Elizabeth herself, with the instinct of prophecy, foretold that the peace in France would not last: that it would end in a year or two in some desperate attempt to exterminate the Protestants, and that war with England would follow.[1] Bacon, in a confidential letter to Cecil, said that "the proposed compromise would not make Spain and France the more assured, but the queen's highness the less to be feared." "Better far it would have been," he thought, "to have gone through with the matter." "Scotland would by that time have been at her devotion, and Scotland and England united might encounter the world in arms." "The effect of her present measures would only be to increase the danger, increase the expense, drive the queen to be burdensome to her subjects, which again would breed new perils; but his advice had not been allowed, and they must now wait for what would follow."[2] Cecil himself, if Don Guerau's secretary is to be trusted, had sent money to the Continent in preparation for exile. He intended to hold on to the last; but he believed that the end might come at any time; and after an interview with the queen, he desired Lady Cecil to pack her jewels and be ready to fly at a moment's notice.[3] The Duke of Norfolk was released from the Tower the first week in August, and was allowed to reside at Howard House, under the partial supervision of Sir Henry Neville. If Arundel and Arundel's friends retained their hold upon the queen, the next step was likely to be Cecil's arrest or banishment.

He was not gone yet, however; and while he remained the administrative power was still in his hands, and he was not afraid to use it. The person who had nailed the bull against the Bishop of London's door had escaped for some weeks undiscovered. He had been taken at last, however, and was found to be a young gentleman of good family named Felton. Catholicism when it

[1] "Encore elle pense que quant Dieu vous aura donné la paix, l'on ne cessera, avant deux ans, de vous pousser à la guerre pour oster cette religion, et mesmes à vous animer contre ce royaulme comme contre ung coing de la terre qui sert de retrette aulx Protestans."—La Mothe au Roy, Juillet 14: *Dépêches*, vol. iii.

[2] Bacon to Cecil, August 13, abridged: *Domestic MSS.*

[3] "Esta es cosa cierta que el segretario Cecil dixó á su muger con grandes ansias, ha dos semanas, viniendo de la Reyna á su aposento: 'Muger, si Dios no nos ayuda, somos presos y perdidos. Por tanto recoged vuestras joyas y todo el dinero que podeis, paraque me sigais quando tal tiempo viniere, como parece que la mala fortuna nos amenaza.' Y aunque parece que no seria esto assi, es cierto que esto pasó, porque esperáran él y otros consejeros hasta lo ultimo. Al extremo piensan desampararlo todo y passarse á Italia, Vienne, ó otras partes."—Antonio de Guaras á Cayas, August 1.

assumed the shape of treason could yet be dealt with. Felton confessed under the rack, but claimed his act wholly for his own. He was brought to trial, and said at the bar that 25 peers, 600 gentlemen, and 30,000 commons were ready to die in the pope's quarrel. Cecil, perhaps, wished to provoke them to the experiment. Their champion was put to death on the scene of his exploit, with the protracted tortures which the executioner, if directed, could inflict [1]

A more audacious proceeding followed. Since there now appeared to be no doubt of Elizabeth's intention to proceed with the Queen of Scot's treaty, the Earl of Westmoreland, the Countess of Northumberland, the Nortons, and Leonard Dacres had withdrawn from Scotland So long as they remained either nothing could be done, or their extradition would be made a condition of the agreement. They had therefore crossed over to the Netherlands, intending to return when the Queen of Scots was released and the stir in England had

in an enmity to their sovereign, and in a passionate hope of speedily assisting in her overthrow. They were living on pensions from Philip, entertained much as Chatillon, Montgomery, the Vidame of Chartres, and other Huguenots had been entertained in England; and there they had continued some of them from the time of Elizabeth's accession, scheming, conspiring, intriguing, gliding backwards and forwards over the Channel in disguise, and circulating seditious pamphlets in the English counties.

first Parliament. He had been imprisoned for refusing the Oath of Allegiance, but he had escaped abroad and had since

foot in connection with one of the Hamiltons for a feat which would have eclipsed the murder at Linlithgow It was nothing less than making away with the little King of Scots, in the belief

[1] "Le hiciéron quartos vivo con grandissima crueldad."—Don Guerau á Cayas, Agosto 9: *MSS. Simancas*

that with his life would be removed the principal obstacle to his mother's marriage with some Catholic prince.[1]

Whether Cecil knew anything of this does not appear. He bribed, however, a refugee named Parker who was in Story's confidence. Story himself was employed by Alva to search vessels arriving from England suspected of containing heretical books. Parker enticed him by false information on board a trader lying in the river below Antwerp, where he was immediately flung into the hold, the hatches were closed down upon him, and in a few hours he was in Yarmouth.[2]

Finding himself in the hands of the enemy, he wrote on being landed, half in irony, to Cecil, that "as he was old and decrepit, one iron on his sound leg would be sufficient to hold him," and begging that he might be tolerably lodged, "that he perished not before his time." [3]

The "lodging" prepared for him was his own Lollards' Tower, which had been empty since he and his had lost the power to persecute. He bore his fate with considerable stoicism,[4]

[1] This preposterous piece of wickedness would have been incredible had it not been confessed by Story himself. The account of it was transmitted by the Spanish ambassador to Philip. The *Prestal* spoken of as another of the conspirators will be heard of hereafter. Don Guerau's words are these:—

"Dixó Story que Hamilton le refirió que le habia escripto Prestal que aquel negocio que el Story y el Hamilton le habian dicho, que podia hacer con Ingles que entonces estaba en Irlanda, no se podia acabar sin gran copia de dinero. Y este secreto era sobre matar al Rey de Escocia; porque este Prestal habia dicho á Hamilton que con dificultad pudieran ser los Escoceses reducidos á la obediencia de la Reyna, mientras ella estuviese sin marido, y que ningun hombre principal la querria por muger mientras viviese aquel muchacho, pero si le mataba que el esperaba que el hermano del Emperador se casaria con ella."—Sacada de las Confessiones del Doctor Story: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Parker was treated in the same way, and sent to London as a prisoner, lest information should get abroad of his treachery, and he and others should be disabled from doing similar services. The government was already contemplating the seizure of another of the gang. Sir H. Cobham, writing from Antwerp on the 4th of September, says:—"I am informed to a surety that Prestal is with the Countess of Northumberland. If the manner of the conveyance of Story had been kept secret in England, or yet hereafter shall be well carried, I think there is which will hazard to do the like enterprise by Prestal. In the meantime Story can inform you what practices Prestal hath in hand for Scotland. The rebels here provoke and stir what they may. The chief captain of those which are busy in practices is Prestal. Story was next."—Cobham to Cecil, September 4: *MSS. Flanders.*

[3] Story to Cecil, from Yarmouth, August 15: *MSS. Domestic.*

[4] "Story seemeth to take little thought for any matter, and is as perverse in mind concerning religion as heretofore he hath been. He plainly saith that what he did in Queen Mary's time, he did it lawfully because he was but a minister of the law; and if it was the law again he might do the like."—Watts to Cecil, September 4: *MSS. Domestic.*

but his firmness failed him in the terrible ordeal which followed. He was examined in his cell under the rack as Felton had been. The Catholics prayed that God would support him under it;[1] but he was seventy years old and feeble for his age, and his dark secrets were wrung from him by his agony. He was then tried for high treason. He said that he was a naturalised subject of Philip, but the plea was not allowed. He was sentenced as a traitor, committed to a dungeon in the Tower, and left there waiting for execution. If Alva and Philip endured this, the Catholics in England might well despair of help from them and Elizabeth might lay aside her fears. Here was a man living under the King of Spain's protection, in the employ of the government, and seized and carried off as it were under Alva's eyes. Yet Alva contented himself with a mild remonstrance to the English minister. "The proceeding appeared strange to him," he said; "the Queen of England should remember that it would discontent her to have the like done in her countries; it was the king's pleasure, however, to bear with her in a matter which he would not have suffered at another prince's hand."[2] The English Catholics little expected such an answer. The haughty Alva had not been celebrated for endurance of injuries. The Queen of Spain had not sailed; ninety large ships were lying armed and manned in the Scheldt; and unless Spain intended to forfeit her rank in Europe, she must move at last. Lord Seton sped across from Scotland to offer Aberdeen for a landing place. Lord Derby sent word that he could raise ten thousand men in Lancashire. Arundel, Worcester, Montague, Southampton, Lumley, all told Don Guerau that they were ready. Norfolk was flinching; but Norfolk's absence mattered not. They waited only but for a sign from Alva, and they pledged their lives that there should be no second failure Twice the Bishop of Ross came with this message to the ambassador. The

the moment for your excellency's presence in England. Never could you come more opportunely You will see what I have written to his majesty; what Lord Derby and the rest say is all true."

The Catholic lords sent a messenger of their own to Philip. They had trusted to him, they said, and hoped, till they were almost in despair. The queen's ministers were now distracted, quarrelling among themselves and uncertain what to do. No such opportunity had occurred before; and if it was allowed to pass, such another might never return. It mattered not whether a force was landed in Scotland or landed in England, the effect would be the same. They offered harbours, supplies—all that an army could want; and if Philip desired it, the Prince of Scotland should be placed in his hands as their security.[1]

The excitement among the Catholics could not wholly be concealed. Huntingdon had his eye on Lord Derby, and warned Cecil that mischief was in the wind;[2] and whatever might be Elizabeth's pleasure, Cecil determined that with the first symptoms of further rebellion Mary Stuart should die; she at least should not be carried off to be a head and rallying point to the queen's enemies.[3]

But the cloud, as so many others had done, broke and passed off. Alva would run no risk without positive orders from Philip; and Philip was too full of the dangers which he expected from the peace in France to be willing to take further quarrels on himself. Two Spanish officers went over to Aberdeen and stayed a week or two with Huntly, at Strathbogie, to look about them. The King of Spain offered Elizabeth his friendly assistance in Scotland; but his interference was graciously declined, and Philip said no more. Clinton lay in the Channel with the fleet,[4] either to defend the country from invasion, or to pay the honours of the passage to the Queen of Spain as the event might turn. At the beginning of October the huge armada weighed anchor in the Scheldt, and swept with a leading breeze down Channel without approaching the English shores. The queen's ships, with the flying squadrons of privateers, hung about the skirts of

[1] "Avisos que ha dado Geo Kempe en Madrid, Setiembre 19."—*MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Huntingdon to Cecil, August 24: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i. So dangerous was the court that Huntingdon, after giving his information, added, "Take heed to which of your companions you utter this, though you be now but five together."

[3] "Al primero movimiento que haya en este reyno cortarán le cabeza de la Reyna de Escocia—assi esta en el consejo desta Reyna resuelto y acordado."—Don Guerau to Philip, September 25: *MSS. Simancas.*

[4] Much reduced from its intended strength, owing to the queen's economies. "La Reyna toma grande enojo en ver que la trayan á firmar cedula de treinta mill libras gastadas con el aparato desta armada, y assi cessa del todo el armar mas de las diez naves de que he dado aviso á V. Magd que estan en orden."—Don Guerau to Philip, September 2: *MSS. Simancas.*

the Spaniards till they were in the open waters of the Atlantic; but courtesies and compliments were interchanged instead of cannon shot. The English admiral went on board the royal vessel and presented the princess with a diamond which had been given by Philip to Queen Mary; and the French ambassador was driven sorrowfully to conclude that there was no ill-will between the Catholic king and his heretic sister in law, and that [illegible] exchange of the arrested ships and property; and so plausible was he that even the acute Walsingham recommended Ridolfi to Cecil as a person in whom he might confidently rely.[2]

Meantime Scotland was seething and fermenting in the expectation of the Queen of Scots' return. Both parties denounced Elizabeth—the Protestants for her breach of promise, the rest for the insulting and imperious attitude which she had assumed towards their country, yet all were persuaded that the queen was really coming back, and the only question was whether Elizabeth was to dictate the conditions, or whether the restoration was to be forced upon her with a high hand.

Commissioners from both king and queen had been required to come to London where they could be heard upon their several claims; but neither party had been anxious for haste. The new regent and his friends were hoping that something might occur to change Elizabeth's purpose once more, Chatelherault and Maitland waited for the result of their application to Alva.

Maitland's heart was set steadily on one point—to bring Elizabeth on her knees before his own mistress. If it could be accomplished by force, so much the better, but the treaty would be a road as sure though less rapid to the same end. He expected that the conditions would be strained in the hope that they might be rejected. If this was Elizabeth's purpose he meant to disappoint her by agreeing to everything however humiliating, being satisfied that when the Queen of Scots was once at liberty whatever engagements she might make would snap like rotten cords.

He was staying through the summer and autumn at Blair Athol,[3] recruiting his shaken health among the glens and moun-

[1] La Mothe, October 10
[2] *Walsingham to Cecil, October 22. MSS. Domestic.*
[3] Maitland was the earl's brother-in-law

tains. Cultivated far beyond the wild men on whom he played as upon instruments, Maitland would at any age of the world have been in the first rank of statesmen. He had little in him of high moral purpose in the technical sense of the words, but he was a passionate Scot, proud of his own intellect, and prouder of his country, to which he devoted himself with a tenacity of purpose that no temptation of private interest could affect. He remains with all his faults a person singularly interesting, and whatever will throw light upon his character deserves to be carefully studied.

After the sharp burst of scorn with which he had spoken of the destruction of Hamilton he resumed his self-command, and pretending to be satisfied that his mistress must abandon the hope of recovering her liberty by revolution, he sketched to Sussex an outline of the conditions which he said that he was prepared to urge upon her acceptance. The sore subject of the title might be dropped conclusively. The Queen of Scots should promise never again to molest the Queen of England, and she "should strengthen her obligations with her great seal and oath." The emperor and the Kings of France and Spain would be sufficient securities. These sovereigns would "bind themselves to become her enemies if she broke her engagements," and an Act of Parliament might then be passed in England cutting her off from the succession. The Queen of England "should dispose of her in marriage;" "the chief persons in Scotland that took her side should be hostages for her, and the Queen of Scots should either reside freely herself in England or the prince should come there in her place." [1]

These offers naturally appeared to Sussex "as ample upon the sudden he could conceive needed to be demanded." His one objection was that "the performance of them depended only upon conscience, and rested in the will and liberty of the persons that should perform." He had no confidence in Maitland. He doubted whether he was dealing honestly with him, and he intimated that "bye practices" would be found dangerous, and that "her majesty had subjects who would provide for her surety whatever became of themselves." But the proposals, if made in sincerity, deserved consideration, and while sending them on to the council Sussex used the opportunity which Maitland's letter gave him to ask for an explanation of the problem which was perplexing everybody—why he who had so long acted with the

[1] Maitland to Sussex, June 29; Sussex to Maitland, July 5: *MSS. Scotland.*

Protestants had gone over to the other side. He had been one of those who had advocated harder measures for the Queen of Scots than the Queen of England would allow. "The persons were the same, the cause the same; the matter the same." "How had severity which was just one day become unjust the next?" "There was neither wisdom in it nor philosophy."[1]

A note from Maitland to his brother explains the object of his first letter to Sussex. He was wishing merely to recover for himself the confidence of the English council;[2] but a correspondence followed characteristic both of Sussex and himself.

"You ask me why I have changed my mind," he replied. "Have you never changed yours? Those are not the wisest men who remain always of one opinion. The skilful sailing master applies his course as the wind and weather drive him. You speak of philosophy; I have none of it. Yet, if I turned my mind that way I would not study it after the intractable discipline of the Stoics, but would rather become a student in

[illegible]

You say persons, cause, and matter are the same. It is not so, for time has altered many things. The affections of men are changed in both realms and the persons are altered. The person of the late regent was a circumstance of no small moment. And severity was a matter which might well vary with the change only of time. To sequestrate the queen for a season might

[illegible]

worse to be done to the Queen of Scots by your sovereign, but I was never a persuader of such matters myself. I never went about from the beginning to advise her destruction, nor meant

[illegible]

at any time ill to her person. A month after the late regent accepted office I dealt earnestly with him to accord with the queen. From first to last I have laboured always that the matter should be taken up by accord." [1]

T[illegible] of moral abstraction was pleasant to Sussex. He [illegible] weapons of his school days, pelting his adversary with logical formulas, and fastening upon his heretical views of good and evil. He ran over the various steps which had been taken by the party of which Maitland had been a member.

"To depose a sovereign," he said, "was a serious matter not to be taken up lightly and laid aside because times were changed. Alteration on such a point was not wisdom but frivolous mutabilitation, unless indeed the cause alleged for the deposition had been discovered to be false. He desired to be satisfied whether Maitland thought it *was* false.

"What your party did in England," he continued, "tended not to a short restraint of your queen, but was directly either to deliver her captive into your own custodies or to bind the queen to detain her so as she should never trouble Scotland more. If her captivity or a worse matter was meant, God and your own conscience do know, only this I am sure, that if her majesty would have digested that which was openly delivered unto her by the general consent of your whole company, in such sort as ye all desired, advised, and earnestly—I will not say passionately, persuaded her at that time to do for her own surety, the benefit of Scotland, and the continuing of amity between both the realms, there had been worse done to your queen than either her majesty or any subject of England whom you take to be least free from passions could be induced to think meet to be done." [2]

Maitland did not care to prolong the argument. He said he was ready to answer for his conduct to his own mistress when she pleased to call him to account for it, and he was working loyally to deserve the pardon which she had long before bestowed upon him. Sussex sent the correspondence to the court, and Elizabeth complimented him for having come off with honour from an encounter with one whom she called "the flower of the wits of Scotland." "She was more pleased with him," she said, "than if he had won an action in the field;" "she always thought him wise, but had never seen a more absolute proof of it; he had overmatched and confounded Lidington, not only

[1] Maitland to Sussex, July 16, condensed: *MSS. Scotland.*
[2] Sussex to Maitland, July 29: Ibid.

with the truth, but with the sharp good order in which he had expounded it."[1]

Still unless Mary Stuart got herself killed, Elizabeth had determined to send her back, and was not again inclined to change her mind. She said only she would have conditions which should enable her to "command their observance;" she did not mean to depend on promises; besides hostages she would have some castle or castles in her own hands or in the hands of Scots on whom she could rely[2]

Sussex advised her strongly to secure her ground beforehand, and even as "a means towards the peace," allow him to take Edinburgh and Dumbarton. She contented herself, however, with sending a sharp message to Chatelherault and Argyle, that if they meddled with Lennox and Morton she did not mean to be "so deluded" as to pass it over Herries having given fresh trouble, she permitted Sussex to make one more foray into Galloway, where he blew up Dumfries Castle and left "not a stone house standing capable of giving shelter to armed men"[3] Having shown in this way that she was not [illegible] and would endure no trifling, she proceeded seriously with the [illegible] of the treaty Sussex lamented still that he had been forbidden "to go through with things," "the heavier [illegible] hand of the English government the easier, simpler [illegible] durable," he thought, "the composition would be [illegible] considered that for the present enough had [illegible] The difficulty now was rather in restraining [illegible] who in desperation, and perhaps privately [illegible] might try to make a composition impossible [illegible] of public order, hanged a party of [illegible] he caught somewhere. "shrew[illegible] obliged to term it Elizabeth [illegible] Chatelherault and his friends that [illegible] would not bring in French [illegible] Huntly, and others assemble[illegible] and ran a narrow chan[illegible] The bond, however, was [illegible] was lectured into beha[illegible] effort to induce Eliza[illegible] tried to persuade her [illegible] murder, and had pr[illegible] her as her mother-[illegible]

Lady Lennox replied with a protest to Cecil against the restoration as tending to obscure the memory of the crimes of which she was indisputably guilty.[1]

Elizabeth herself too had for ever fresh and fresh causes of suspicion dragged before her. A gold brooch fell into her hands in which the lion of Scotland was represented crushing a leopard's skull. The rose and thistle were twined below them with the words—

"Ainsy abattra le lyon Escouçoys le liépart Anglois."

"If that be our hap," said Randolph, by whom the emblem was sent to London, "if that be our hap to have our lion of England clawn by the powle, we have overlong nourished so cruel a beast that will devour the whole estate."[2]

Nevertheless the queen persevered. She had given her word to the King of France, she said, and she meant to keep it; adding, with a proud consciousness of the truth of the words, that no sovereign in Christendom would have shown the forbearance which she had shown throughout the whole business.[3] She repeated her desire that Lennox and Morton should send commissioners to London. She assured them that they need be under no alarm. She would provide as carefully for them as for herself, but the cause must come to an end; "she could no longer

[1] LADY LENNOX TO CECIL.

"*September* 8.

"Good Master Secretary,—You shall understand that I have heard of some commissioners that shall go to the Queen of Scotland to treat with her of matters tending to her liberty to go thither, of which she herself doth already make assured account. The knowledge thereof is to me of no small discomfort, considering that notwithstanding the grievous murder which by her means only upon my son her husband was executed, divers persons in this realm doth yet doubt, and a great many doth credit, that since her coming hither she is found clear, and not to be culpable of that fact; because, as they say, since all the conventions and conferences had between the nobility touching that matter, it has not been published and made known that the said queen was found in any way guilty therein. Much more when they already deceived shall see her released to go home at her pleasure (though upon some devised conditions to serve the present), their former conceits shall be verified; and therein they being satisfied it may appear that she hath sustained insufferable wrongs to be for no offence so long restrained within this realm. The rest thereof I refer to your wisdom. I am enforced to crave your friendship herein, and to impart this my meaning to her majesty, whose highness I trust will hold me excused, considering whereupon I ground my desire for the stay of her who otherwise I doubt shall stir up such ill as hereafter all too late may be repented."—*MSS.* Mary Queen of Scots, *Rolls House.*

[2] Randolph to Cecil, October 2. Compare La Mothe, *Dépêches*, October 25.

[3] La Mothe: Ibid.

with honour or reason continue to hold the Queen of Scots in restraint."[1]

Of all conditions the best would be the Queen of Scots' marriage to some safe person, Sir Henry Carey or some one like him. Could this be arranged other securities might be dispensed with; if not, it was necessary to tie her hands. The French government promised to be contented with anything provided she was still recognised as queen. Elizabeth fell back upon the terms which had been sketched by Maitland. England, Scotland, the people, and sovereigns should be united in "a perfect amity;" without prejudice to her future claims the Queen of Scots should abandon definitely her present pretences to the crown of England, and she should swear, in the presence of the

[illegible]

none with the Duke of Anjou. The religion established in Scot-

[illegible]

consenting under compulsion, the Queen of Scots should, "by an instrument to be devised in due form of law, declare herself at liberty," and "confirm the articles collectively and separately under the Great Seal of Scotland." Should she violate her engagements in any part, "she should be in mere justice adjudged, deputed, and taken as a person by her own consent, deprived of any [illegible]
succession," anc [illegible]
in the same ca [illegible]
possible to the honour of Scotland."[2]

[illegible]

conspiracies against Elizabeth, "such as no sovereign had ever remitted when the pretending party was in the power of the possessor of the crown," and if this failed, she was to be told "that the queen's majesty had hitherto forborne to publish such matters as she might have done to have touched the Queen of

[1] Elizabeth to Sussex, September 28. *MSS Scotland.*
[2] Articles of accord Endorsed by Cecil, "Inter Regnam Angliæ et Scotiæ, September, 1570": *MSS.* MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS—Projet d'accord: TEULET, vol. ii

Scots for the murder of her husband," with a hint that if driven to extremities, Elizabeth might yet have recourse to those means for her own protection.[1]

There was no fear, however, that Mary Stuart would require to be pressed in this way. If France continued cold and Spain apathetic, her friends had agreed that she was to raise no more difficulties than would suffice to allay suspicion. The one paramount object was to get her out of England, and this once done, means could be found to break the chains of the strictest treaty which art could draw. The pope, with his power to bind and to loose, would absolve her of her oaths; and "a way would be found" to escape from the more substantial engagements. Maitland had instructed her from time to time in the course which she was to pursue. Two of his letters were intercepted by Lennox, and at last, though written in cipher, were read by Cecil's industry—at last, though with difficulty, and not till later in the winter, not in time to cut off the negotiations in the bud, but in time to prevent the deadly flower from growing to maturity.

As representing the spirit in which the Queen of Scots and her friends were about to enter into the conference, the sincerity of those professions with which Mary Stuart had requested the pope's permission to illude Elizabeth, the substance of these letters may be given in this place.

On the 9th of August, while still at Blair Athol, and after his correspondence with Sussex, Maitland wrote to the Queen of Scots to tell her to allow nothing to interfere with the completion of [illegible] treaty. Help eventually might be looked for from [illegible] Elizabeth w[illegible] false—on his life he could swear that [illegible] no good-[illegible] Mary Stuart must continue to treat [illegible] though [illegible] confidence in her friendship."

ye could not have sent me any word whereat I would have been more glad. I hope to God since that has come to pass, the rest

out true meaning. Always continue in the treaty until the untruth appears of itself. You desire my opinion what is to be answered to the demand of the prince, some of the nobility for

from her, and therefore to satisfy other princes proposes the harder conditions which she thinks shall be refused. It is for the Queen of Scots hard to deliver her son in England, and it is hard for Scotland to have our principal strengths in the hands of England. Yet rather than the Queen of Scots should remain

prince be delivered in England, because it will let the people of Scotland see that she is careful of him. Yet for the matter itself I see no sik danger in it neither for preservation of his person nor yet for peril may thereafter follow to the Queen of Scots herself by setting up of him against her, that I would advise her to refuse it in the end. Those that are enemies to her title in England would rather destroy her person than his, because he is but a bairn, and the succession of his body is far off; but her person is the mould to cast more bairns in; so long as she is safe they will never press to destroy him; besides that, I think, having interest to the title after her, his nomination among them shall further it with the people.

"Besides, if she were once at liberty, I fear not that means shall be found to make both England and Scotland loth to enterprise far against her I speak all to this end, that in any wise her liberty be procured whatsoever the conditions be; press it to the best, but if we fail we must accept the worst. As I write of the prince I mean of Dumbarton. It is not the being of Dumbarton in English hands that will more thrall Scotland to England, than Berwick may do without Dumbarton; nor yet may Dumbarton keep Frenchmen or strangers out of Scotland if the Queen of Scots desire them; for she being at home, Leith,

any part of Fife, Dundee, Aberdeen, and briefly all the coast of Scotland, will serve that turn as well as Dumbarton can do. Yield as little as ye may, but yield to all rather than she remain a prisoner, because I think her life always in danger *in medio nationis pravæ*. You write of a secret purpose touching the Queen of Scots' escape. I pray you beware with that point, for albeit I would be content to be banished Scotland all the days of my life to have the Queen of Scots obtaining liberty without the Queen of England's consent, for the great uncourtesy that she hath used unto her, rather than have it with her consent and I the best earldom in Scotland between hands, because I would she might be even with the Queen of England, yet I dare not advise her majesty to press at it without she be well assured there be no kind of danger in executing of her enterprise. I fear deadly the craft of her enemies that will not stick to set out some of themselves to make her majesty offers to convey her away, and let her see probability to give her courage to take it in hand, and then, they being privy to it, to trap her in a snare, and so to execute against her person their wicked intentions, which now for fear of the world and shame of other princes they dare not do. Save her life whatever ye do, and sure I am God with time shall bring all other things to pass to our contentment. But that point lost can never be recovered, and then all is gone." [1]

When this letter was read by Elizabeth and Cecil it was made evident to them at once, that not a single scheme of revenge or ambition was intended to be seriously abandoned, and that for all the oaths that might be sworn, the French and Spanish armies were to be introduced into Scotland at the first opportunity.

As yet, however, and conscious of her own sincerity, Elizabeth was able to half persuade herself that Mary Stuart was weary of conspiracy, and was willing to remain quiet till she herself was dead. The Queen of Scots' protestations were incessant. She for ever said that she had some mysterious secret which she was longing to communicate, but would only reveal in person. Elizabeth did not believe her, yet did not utterly disbelieve her; and—a sufficient proof that she was serious about the treaty—she appointed no less a person than Cecil to go to Chatsworth to negotiate with her. To the smooth letter she replied in a tone which even Maitland could not accuse of insincerity:—

"You have caused a rebellion in my realm," she said, "and you

[1] Maitland to the Bishop of Ross, August 17: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

have aimed at my own life. You will say you did not mean these things. Madam, I would I could think so poorly of your understanding and could lay your fault on your want of knowledge. You say that you desire to heal the wounds which you have caused. Well, I send two of my council to you who know all my mind. I am not influenced by the menaces of France. Those who would work upon me through my fears know but little of my character. You tell me you have some mystery which you wish to make known to me. If it be so, you must write it. You are aware that I do not think it well that you and I should meet. I trust you will give me cause to forget your faults. God knows how welcome that would be to me."[1]

With the utmost art Elizabeth could have scarcely counter-

misgiving that she trusted even Cecil within the reach of her fascinations. No one perhaps except Knox had escaped from an encounter with this extraordinary woman altogether unin-

be "won over," and his confident promises scarcely reassured them.[2]

The Bishop of Ross and Sir Walter Mildmay accompanied him.

"The Bishop of Ross," wrote Don Guerau, "sends me word by one of his servants that he will return in a week and tell me what his mistress will do. I know for certain that the Duke of Anjou is a suitor for her hand, and that she is not disinclined to accept him. But her English friends do not like it, and your majesty may believe that I do not The Catholics, your highness

do anything good or bad. He has been cool about the marriage lately, but it seems that he will take it up again, especially as he

[1] Elizabeth to the Queen of Scots, September 17. Abridged: TEULET, vol. ii. p. 406.

[2] Lady Lennox to Cecil, October 5: *MSS. Queen of Scots.* La Mothe, *Dépêches*, October 16.

expects to be shortly restored fully to liberty. Your majesty will instruct me how to act. The release of the Queen of Scots and her marriage in a good quarter will bring with it the restoration of religion and the consequent settlement of the Low Countries. I hold myself, as your majesty commands, at the disposition of the Duke of Alva. The Bishop of Ross tells me that if his mistress may depend on assistance from us, she will remain where she is; if not, she will agree to the treaty." [1]

[1] Don Guerau to Philip, October 15 and October 25: *MSS. Simancas.*

armed ship could escape from pirates in the open water only being too worthless to be seized, the English sailors eschewed calling which was as dangerous as it was inglorious.

It was fortunate for Elizabeth that another occupation was pen to them, that the sea-going portion of her subjects were hose in whom the ideas of the Reformation had taken the leepest root, and that the merchant therefore could change his character for that of the buccaneer with the approval of his conscience as well as to the advantage of his purse.

The Catholic spirit was naturally strongest where the people were least exposed to contact with strangers. In the midland and northern counties, where the feudal traditions lingered, the habits were unaltered and the superstitions undispelled. The customs by which old English country life had been made beautiful—the festivals of the recurring seasons, the church bells, the monuments of the dead, the roofless aisles of the perishing abbeys—all were silent preachers of the old faith and passionate protests against the new; while for good and evil, peer and peasant, knight and yeoman, were linked together in the ancient social organisation which thus survived unbroken. In sharp contrast, the merchant of the seaport was driven by his occupation to comprehend and utilise the knowledge which vas breaking upon mankind. To him to live by custom was bankruptcy and ruin. Unless he could grow with the times, unless he could distinguish fact from imagination, and laws of nature from theories of faith, he was left behind in the race by keener and less devout competitors. It was no longer enough for him to christen his ship by the name of a saint, and pray to Paul or Peter to bring it safe to harbour. Peter had enoug to do to save his own bark in the tempest which was ragin and had no leisure to listen to the seaman's orisons. The sta were now the mariner's patrons, and the tables of longitu and latitude were his Liturgy. The sun and moon pointed t road to him to the Pearl Islands and gleaming gold mines of t New Continent, and he looked out on nature and the world, God and man, and all things in earth and heaven, with alte and open eyes. When driven from legitimate trade, the Eng merchants, instead of flying at the government as the Spa ambassador had hoped, flew upon the spoils of those forced them to abandon it. They swarmed out over the w treating it like Pistol, as the oyster which their sword would o Their rights were in their cannon, their title to their boo their strength to win it. Careless of life and careless of ju

as Alva's warriors themselves, they were their fit antagonists in the great battle between the dying and the rising creeds.

But there was another form, quieter, purer, nobler far, in England in which the new ideas were developing themselves, and that was Puritanism. The Church of England was a latitudinarian experiment, a contrivance to enable men of opposing creeds to live together without shedding each others' blood. It was not intended, and it was not possible, that Catholics or Protestants should find in its formulas all that they required. The services were deliberately made elastic; comprehending in the form of positive statement only what all

authorities in town or parish: where the people were Catholics the Catholic aspect could be made prominent, where Popery was a bugbear, the people were not disturbed by the obtrusion of doctrines which they had outgrown. In itself it pleased no party or section To the heated controversialist its chief merit was its chief defect. Besides the queen there were perhaps half a dozen prominent people in England who had intelligence enough to estimate the real value of forms and doctrines; the passions which the Church was intended to check necessarily heaved under its surface; but the scandals and controversies which were incessantly bursting out should be regarded rather as an evidence of what the country would have been without the Establishment than as indicating that the Establishment itself was unsuited to the end for which it was constituted.

Conscience, Elizabeth never wearied of proclaiming, was unmolested; every English subject might think what he pleased. No inquisition examined into the secrets of opinion; and before the rebellion no questions were asked as to what worship or what teaching might be heard within the walls of private houses. The Protestant fanatics, who had from time to time attempted prosecutions, were always checked and discouraged; and unless the laws were ostentatiously violated, the government was wilfully blind. Toleration was the universal practice in the widest sense which the nature of the experiment permitted; and if it was now found necessary to draw [illegible] cords more tightly, the fault was not with Elizabeth or [illegible] sters, but with the singular and uncontrollable frenzy [illegible] which

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regards the exclusive supremacy of a peculiar doctrine as of more importance than the Decalogue.

It has been seen that the Catholics at the beginning of the reign applied to Rome for permission to attend the English service. Their request was considered and refused, and their duties to the Church and to the crown being thus forced into collision, the more devout among them became rapidly infected with disloyalty. The outward submission of the clergy at Elizabeth's accession is not to be construed into a real or even pretended approval of the changes which were then reintroduced. They had hoped for a time that the Liturgy would have received the sanction of the pope, and had England consented to submit to the Holy See, that sanction might have been the price of the compromise. But many of them, when the hope passed away, reconciled themselves to the Catholic communion and sued for absolution for their unwilling apostasy. Noblemen who at first had attended the parish churches no longer appeared there. The publication of the bull precipitated the reaction, and thenceforward no one could pretend to be a sincere Catholic without at the same time declaring himself a traitor. "The people of Lancashire refused utterly to come any more to divine service in the English tongue." Lord Derby forbade the further use of the Liturgy in his private chapel.[1] Grindal, who had been appointed Archbishop of York, found on arriving at his diocese that "the gentlemen" were "not affected to godly religion." They observed "the old fasts and holidays." "They prayed still on their strings of beads." In London he had been chiefly troubled with the overstraight Genevans. In the north he was in another world. Disguised priests flitted about like bats in the twilight, or resided in private houses in "serving men's apparel." Corpse candles were lighted again beside the coffins of the dead, while "clerks and curates" sang requiems at their side. In other parts of England ecclesiastical officials, "nusselled in the canon law," recommenced the iniquities of the spiritual courts, "maintaining the pope's authority," "propounding questions at the visitation and sessions," "rebuking the Protestant preachers," "encouraging or winking at persons accused of papistry, never giving them a sharp word." They "provoked the people to blaspheme God, and ministered occasion to sedition;" and again with the doctrines they brought back the pleasant practices of the good old times—commuting penances for money, compounding for

[1] The Bishop of Carlisle to Sussex, October 16, 1570: *MSS. Border.*

moral enormities, and grinding the widow and the orphan by their fees and extortions.[1]

The reaction was especially marked in Norfolk and Suffolk. An incipient rebellion had been smothered there; but the duke was passionately loved by the people, who were described as being "wildly minded." Protestantism had been, as usual, injudicious, when judgment was particularly required. The services in Norwich Cathedral "had been denuded of all which could savour of Babylon." "Certain of the prebendaries" had changed the administration of the sacrament, pauperised the ceremonial, broken down the organ, and, so far as lay in them, had turned the quire into a Genevan conventicle[2] Where the tendencies to Rome were strongest, there the extreme Reformers considered themselves bound to exhibit in the most marked contrast [illegible]

[illegible] would, in their passionate desire to consociate themselves in life and death to the Almighty, were able to rival in self-devotion the Catholic saints But they had not the wisdom of the serpent, and certainly not the harmlessness of the dove

[1] "Appeals in causes of reformation of life are daily committed in the Arches, and prosecuted there contrary to the express law of the decretals and [illegible]
or ju[illegible]
[illegible]
self, [illegible]
hurs[illegible]
twai[illegible]
insti[illegible]
[illegible]
"Appeals in cases of controversy between [illegible]
[illegible]

[2] The Queen to the Bishop of Norwich, September 25 *MSS Domestic.* Cecil's hand.

Had they been let alone—had they been unharassed by perpetual threats of revolution and a return of the persecutions—they, too, were not disinclined to reason and good sense. A remarkable specimen survives, in an account of the church of Northampton, of what English Protestantism could become under favouring conditions. Under the combined management of the Bishop of Peterborough and the mayor and corporation of the city, the laity and clergy of Northamptonshire worked harmoniously together. On Sundays and holydays, the usual services were read from the Prayer-book. In the morning there was a sermon; in the afternoon, when prayers were over, the "youth" were instructed in Calvin's catechism. On Tuesdays and Thursdays, a "lecture of Scripture" was read, with extracts from the Liturgy, and afterwards there was a general meeting of the congregation, with the mayor in the chair, for "correction of discord, blasphemy, whoredom, drunkenness, or offences against religion." On Saturdays, the ministers of the different neighbourhoods assembled to compare opinions and discuss difficult texts; and once a quarter all the clergy of the county met for mutual survey of their own general behaviour. Offences given or taken were mentioned, explanations heard, and reproof administered when necessary. Communion was held four times a-year. The clergyman of each parish visited from house to house during the preceding fortnight, to prepare his flock. "The table was in the body of the church, at the far end of the middle aisle;" and while the people were communicating, "a minister in the pulpit read to them comfortable scriptures of the Passion."

From these arrangements it is clear that the Genevan element preponderated, but there follows a remarkable proof that even Calvinism, when left to itself, did not necessarily imply ecclesiastical despotism. The congregation of Northampton, "as a confession of faith," "accepted Holy Scripture as the Word of God, to be read alike by all, learned and unlearned;" but "they did condemn as a tyrannous yoke whatever men had set up of their own invention to make articles of faith or bind men's consciences to their laws and statutes; they contented themselves with the simplicity of the pure Word of God and doctrine thereof, a summary abridgment of which they acknowledged to be contained in that Confession of Faith used by all Christians, commonly called the Creed of the Apostles."[1]

[1] Order of the services in the Church of Northampton, June 5, 1571: *MSS. Domestic, Rolls House.*

The fury of the times unhappily forbad the maintenance of this wise and prudent spirit. As the powers of evil gathered to destroy the Church of England, a fiercer temper was required to combat with them, and Protestantism became impatient, like David, of the uniform in which it was sent to the battle. It would have fared ill with England had there been no hotter blood there than filtered in the sluggish veins of the officials of the Establishment. There needed an enthusiasm fiercer far to encounter the revival of Catholic fanaticism; and if the young Puritans, in the heat and glow of their convictions, snapped their traces and flung off their harness, it was they, after all, who saved the Church, which attempted to disown them, and with the Church saved also the stolid mediocrity to which the fates

a fellow, and continued in residence, till the Vestment Controversy of 1564 sickened him for a time with English theology, and he went over to Geneva. In Calvin's atmosphere he recovered his spirits, came back to Cambridge, and by some accident was nominated Margaret Professor of Divinity. Cart-

noble and fiery natures are impatient of unrealities. He had been ordained deacon, but he had come to understand that the so-called "Holy Orders," in their transcendental sense, were things of the past He destroyed his licence The sole credentials of a teacher which he consented to recognise were the intellect and spirit which had been received direct from God; and Cecil, as chancellor of the university, was beset with complaints of the wild views which the Margaret Professor was spreading among the students Pluralities and non-residence, those comfortable stays and supports of the university dignitaries, he denounced as impious, and the spiritual courts "as damnable, devilish, and detestable" "Poor men," he said, "did toil and travel, and princes and doctors licked up all. He maintained that those who held offices should do the duties of those offices; that high places in the commonwealth belonged to merit, and that those who without merit were intruded into

uthority were thieves and robbers." In short, he professed he old creed with which all noble-minded men from the beginning have entered into life—the old creed, of which they find in the end that the smallest homœopathic element is the most that mankind will absorb.

Whitgift, then master of Trinity, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and Elizabeth's "little black parson," soon sent up to the court special charges against Cartwright. He had said that archbishop and archdeacon should be abolished i name and office, and that bishops and deacons should be recalle to the apostolic pattern. Bishops should be elected only b the Church, and ministers were only ministers when called to a spiritual charge. To kneel at the Communion he had called a feeble superstition. Unless opinions like these could be put down, it appeared to the heads of houses at Cambridge that all authority in Church and state would be overthrown.[1]

Occupied at the time with serious matters, Cecil was unable for a time to comprehend the nature of Cartwright's offence. He wrote to the board that he could see nothing in his conduct which could be called improper. The professor appeared simply to have been giving his pupils the result of his own studies o the New Testament. "Until further orders could be taken," it would be well if he did not touch on the disputed topics; bu beyond this recommendation Cecil declined to go.[2]

Had Cecil's temperance been imitated at the universit moderation might have produced moderation. The young man of genuine ability is never inaccessible to reason, and h Cartwright been treated discreetly he would have become hi self discreet. But the opinion of a statesman weighed noth with the men who governed Cambridge. The professor suspended, and his influence became ten times greater t before. Though the lecture-room was closed to him, the pu were free. He had but to open his lips there and his was absolute. He denounced the unfortunate vestments. next day, all the students but three in Trinity appear chapel without their surplices. It was too much. Cartw was deprived of his fellowship and expelled from the unive

Of all types of human beings who were generated b English Reformation, men like Whitgift are the least in

[1] W. Chaterton to Cecil, June 2; Whitgift to Cecil, November 2 MSS. *Domestic.*

[2] Cecil to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses, August 3 *Domestic.*

ing. There is something in the constitution of the Establishment which forces them into the administration of it, yet, but for the statesmen to whom they refused to listen, and the Puritans whom they endeavoured to destroy, the old religion would have come back on the country like a returning tide. The Puritans would have furnished new martyrs; the statesmen, through good and evil, would have watched over liberty: but the High Church clergy would have slunk back into conformity, or dwindled to their proper insignificance The country knew its interests, and their high-handed intolerance had to wait till more quiet times; but they came back to power when the chances of a Catholic revolution were buried in the wreck of the Armada; and they remained supreme till they had once more wearied the world with them, and brought a king and an archbishop to the scaffold.

These petty troubles, however, fertile as they were of mischief in the future, were of small importance by the side of the immediate pressing perils. Nestled in the heart of England lay the bosom serpent, as Walsingham called the Queen of Scots, with the longing eyes of the English nobles fastened upon her as their coming deliverer. There she lay, deserving, if crime could deserve, the highest gallows on which ever murderer swung, yet guarded by the mystic sanctity of her birth-claim to the crown.

Cecil has not left on record the impression which Mary Stuart made upon him when he saw for the first time the object of so many years' anxiety. It was not then as when, seventeen years later, those two once more encountered each other, when compromise was dreamt of no longer, and long-lingering justice was claiming its own at last What to do with her at present, and till the times were ripe for the sharp remedy of the axe, might well try the strongest intelligence England, north and south, was trembling on the edge of a second rebellion The Duke of Norfolk had been released from the Tower, on renewing his promise "to deal no more in the matter of the Queen of Scots." A second time he sent a copy of his bond to the very person with whom he was pledging himself not to communicate, [illegible]

at court, the peace might lead to war with Spain, or the project might yet be revived for the marriage of Anjou and the Queen

[1] Confession of the Bishop of Ross, 1571: Murdin.

cots;[1] while engagements, guarantees, promises—all the
ges, whether made by the Queen of Scots, by the court of
is, or by any or every person who became security for the
ervance of the treaty—could be brushed away like a cobweb
the all-powerful representative of St. Peter. Cecil well knew
at he was walking on a thin crust with the lava boiling under
s feet. Whether the crust was hardening, or whether the fire
as eating its way through, time alone could tell him. The
ueen of Scots had sent the copy of the articles proposed to
er to Brussels and to Paris. She had looked for an instant
nterference, and both she and her friends were "dismayed
and angered" at Alva's seeming coldness. Arundel, Norfolk,
Maitland, and even La Mothe, now advised her to accept the
best terms which she could obtain, if only she could recover
her freedom. They believed that they would be able to compel
Elizabeth to go through with the treaty on her part, if no
difficulty was raised by the Queen of Scots herself.

In this spirit therefore she received Cecil at Chatsworth,
following Maitland's advice, and fighting over the details of
the proposals which were made to her. She showed considerable
adroitness in qualifying or altering uncomfortable phrases. In
a clause for the punishment of Darnley's murderers she intro-
duced the words "according to the laws of the realm," intend-
ing, as a marginal note in Cecil's hand indicates, to shelter
Bothwell still behind his previous acquittal. She was willing
to bind herself to do nothing for the future in prejudice of the
Queen of England or her issue; but she inserted, as a marginal
note again mentions, "with no good and honourable meaning,"
the word "lawful"—making the phrase "lawful issue," as if
Elizabeth might produce issue which would not be lawful.

Yet, on both sides, there appeared a willingness to come t
terms. Cecil was ready to soften violent expressions. Th
Queen of Scots did not insist on her exceptions, which we
introduced, perhaps, because they were in keeping with h
character, and because too much readiness to make concessio
might increase Cecil's suspicions. In manner he treated h
with the respect due to a princess who might soon be his o

[1] On the 31st of August Sir Henry Norris wrote that it was feared
king, after lulling the admiral into a false security, would destroy
and his friends. Anjou, "whose haughty mind could not be restr
within a younger brother's portion," was looking to England and
Stuart to provide him with a kingdom and a wife; and Norris w
the queen that she must stand upon her guard if she wished Fran
make fair weather with her.—Norris to Elizabeth: *MSS. France.*

sovereign; while on her part, as Elizabeth foresaw, she exerted her utmost power of fascination to win and charm him It was an encounter of wit in which each was trying to gain an advantage over the other.

"The Queen of Scots," wrote the Bishop of Ross in a letter which fell afterwards into Cecil's hands, "hath dealt with Mr. Secretary in such sort that he hath promised to be her friend. He likes well of her nature. He promises to travail that she and the Queen of England shall speak together, and hath given his counsel how she should behave herself in that case to win the [illegible]

ing her, but now is no time to speak of it. He saith that the Queen of England fears that the Queen of Scots and Norfolk would wax arrogant in that case, but yet he thinks that this surety that she makes to the Queen of England shall put away that fear and so the matter may be followed I think he may be made to labour for that marriage if Norfolk do cause employ him; and in the meantime I will deal as of myself to knit the [illegible]

Scots and of her minister. They had tempted his loyalty and fell into their own snare, and he had discovered thus much at least that the marriage which Norfolk had professedly ceased to think of was still in steady contemplation. At the end of a fortnight he returned to London, and the two parties in Scotland were requested to send up their respective commissioners without further delay. The representatives of the queen were immediately ready. Lord Livingston and the Bishop of Galloway were selected to act with the Bishop of Ross. The regent and his friends, who had persuaded themselves that the danger was passing over, were in despair They again reminded Elizabeth of her promises at Westminster. "They said that they were so amazed and astonished that they knew not what counsel to take." "Surety there could be none," they said, "either for themselves or England, if the Queen of Scots was restored" Douglas of

[1] MS endorsed in Cecil's hand. The Bishop of Ross to the Duke of Norfolk," October 11: *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots.*

chleven swore he would not keep the Earl of Northumberland prisoner any longer to please Elizabeth. Randolph applied his recall, "finding his credit clean decayed," and his old ends "alienated and clean gone from her majesty's service." ney talked again of revolting to France. They said "they ould reconcile themselves secretly with their own queen."[1] nstead of commissioners to treat, they sent up the Commendator of Dumfermline to conjure Elizabeth, in the name of honour, justice, and prudence, to reconsider what she was doing.

The agitation produced no apparent change in Elizabeth's resolution. She said that she did not mean to do anything unjust; she was willing to listen to the regent's objections; but "unless he could fortify his cause with such evident reasons as her majesty might with conscience satisfy herself and with honour answer to the world," the treaty for the restitution must go forward.

In the meantime, however, a negotiation was in secret progress which, if successful, might obtain a more favourable hearing for Lennox's remonstrances. The peace was concluded in France, between the court and the Huguenots, on the 10th of August. As is usually the case after civil convulsions, a desire naturally arose to heal the internal wounds of the country by "removing the war elsewhere." Whether England or Spain was to be the object of hostility depended on whether the Catholics lost or retained their hold over Charles and Catherine. On the one side they might attempt the release of Mary Stuart and her marriage with the Duke of Anjou; on the other the recollections of St Quentin still rankled; in alliance with Elizabeth and the Prince of Orange, France might appear as the champion of liberty an[d] expel the Spaniards from the Low Countries. To ascertain whic[h] of these tendencies was likely to prevail, a young statesman [of] supreme ability was despatched on a special mission to t[he] French court. The early history of Francis Walsingham [is] almost a blank: he was born at Chiselhurst in Kent, in wh[at] year is uncertain, nor is anything known of the occupation [or] station in life of his parents. He was at Cambridge during [the] Marian persecution, and to escape conformity took refug[e in] Germany, but for the ten years after he returned to Engl[and] nothing was publicly heard of him. A note from him on [the] murder of Darnley, however, in November 1568, shows tha[t]

[1] Lennox to Elizabeth, October 16; Randolph to Sussex, Octobe[r] ...; Randolph to Cecil, November 13; Sussex to Cecil, November 18: ... *Scotland*.

that no ordinary man was coming among them.

The direct instructions which Walsingham carried over were to express Elizabeth's satisfaction at the peace, and her hope that the toleration now promised to the Huguenots would be faithfully observed: should the war break out again, a general

Beyond this simple message the new ambassador was left to his own discretion, to feel his way at the court and report on what he found.

Mary Stuart and her causes created scarcely less embarrassment in Paris than in London. Lord Seton's mission to the Duke of Alva had excited the most violent displeasure. A revolution in England in Spanish interests was a catastrophe of which the very thought was unendurable, while a permanent league between England and Scotland, and the education of the prince at the court of Elizabeth, were almost equally distasteful. The royal family was divided. Anjou was restive and ambitious. He had distinguished himself in the war, he was discontented with his position as a subject, and he had liked well the adventurous prospect held out to him in England. At the instigation of the Cardinal of Lorraine, he thought of proposing directly for Mary Stuart's hand, and it was supposed that although she was binding herself by the most solemn engagements not to think of him, her promises would be no obstacle to her acceptance of his overtures.[2] Jealous of his brother's schemes, and afraid that with his popularity among the Catholics Anjou as Mary Stuart's husband would be dangerous to himself, Charles said significantly to Sir Henry Norris that if he were the Queen of England, and had the Queen of Scots in his hands, he knew what he would do with her.[3] A far different project

[1] Instructions to Walsingham, August 11. DIGGES's *Complete Ambassador*. Compare La Mothe, August 14.

dishonour; and Catherine, in despair at the thought of losing her prize, asked La Mothe whether Elizabeth would not take the Duke of Alençon instead. Alençon was but sixteen and was amenable to control.[1]

But this cloud passed off. La Mothe was able to assure the queen-mother that the stories were baseless scandals. The court was so pure, and the queen herself was so much respected by all classes of her subjects, that it was impossible to believe that she had misconducted herself.[2] The pope, indeed, had lent his infallibility to the imputation, and the Catholics, to their no great credit, made Elizabeth's frailty an article of their creed; but the intelligence of men of the world, who were on the spot and could make inquiries, was not so piously credulous, and Anjou in a few weeks became as eager for the marriage as Catherine herself. A campaign in Belgium would give full scope to his military ambition; it would employ the swarm of soldiers whom the peace had let loose, and the success would be as certain as it would be easy. The Prince of Orange and the Germans would invade Holland. Elizabeth's fleet would seal the Channel against reinforcements from Spain, and the royal family of France would be revenged for the death of their sister, whom they believed, though without a shadow of foundation, that Philip had murdered.[3]

Such was the programme which had grown up in Paris in connection with the English marriage, and Catherine was only anxious to see the work commenced by driving Alva into the sea. The nuncio suggested to Anjou "that if England was the mark he shot at it might be achieved easily by the sword, to his great honour and with less inconvenience than making so unfit a match."[4] But Anjou's thoughts had gone off into another channel and could not for the moment be brought back. One

[1] The Queen-mother to La Mothe, February 2: *Dépêches*, vol. vii. This singular letter was written by Catherine herself, the subject of it being of too much consequence to be trusted to the most confidential secretary.

[2] "De tant qu'en sa court l'on ne voyt qu'ung bon ordre, et elle y estre bien fort honorée et ententive en ses affaires, et que les plus grands de son royaulme et toutz ses subjectz la craignent et revèrent, et elle ordonne d'eulx et sur eulx avec pleyne authorité, j'ay estimé que cela ne pouvoit procéder de personne mal famée, et où il n'y eust de la vertu."—La Mothe, March 6.

[3] There is not the slightest doubt of the existence of this conviction both in Charles and his brother. That it could gain credence at all is a proof how intense the national animosity against Spain continued to be.—See the Despatches of Sir Henry Norris, 1570, 1571, passim: *MSS. France, Rolls House.*

[4] Walsingham to Cecil, February 8: *Complete Ambassador.*

Europe. Guido Cavalcanti, for many years the unofficial minister of goodwill between the two courts, was again called into requisition. The queen-mother sent for him to her bedroom and cross-questioned him, first about the truth of the Leicester scandals, and then as to what he thought of Elizabeth's present sincerity.

On the first point Cavalcanti answered that truth was the daughter of time. Elizabeth had been fourteen years on the throne; the hundred eyes of Argus had been fixed upon her, and nothing had been observed to justify "the false, slanderous, and envious bruits which had been spread to her dishonour; there was not in the whole world a more noble, virtuous, or better-natured princess." About the marriage he said that he had every reason, public and private, to believe that she was in earnest, and unless difficulties were made by France the duke might be in England before midsummer, but he suggested that Lord Buckhurst her cousin was in Paris, and could give her the fullest information.

Buckhurst, who had finished the business which brought him over,[1] was on the point of returning to England. The queen-mother invited him before his departure to look over with her the gardens which she was laying out at the Tuileries, and there drawing him apart under the trees, she said that he could not be ignorant of the contemplated match; both she and the king,

Buckhurst answered that as she had spoken freely to him he would meet her with equal openness. The queen his mistress desired above all things in the world that France and England should be drawn together. As to the marriage, she had anti-

marry, and to match with the progeny of a prince out of her own realm."

[1] Sir Thomas Sackville, first Lord Buckhurst, was grandson of John Sackville and Margaret Boleyn, sister of the Earl of Wiltshire, the father of Anne. Buckhurst had been sent to Paris to congratulate Charles IX. on his marriage.

"Could she be sure of this," the queen-mother answered "and if it was meant indeed and not only in words, France and England might be the two most fortunate kingdoms in the world;" the honour of the French crown would be hurt if Elizabeth was insincere, but she would believe it was not so; and she went on to ask whether she might entertain hopes for her son.

"His commission," Buckhurst replied, did not allow him to answer this question, but "the duke being so worthy a prince," and the benefits to be expected from such an alliance, to both the realms, being so evident, he thought, as a private individual that if an ambassador was sent over to propose in proper form he might be sure of a favourable reception. There was no occasion, however, for the duke "to hazard his honour," he would himself report the queen-mother's words on his return, and he would inform her on all points, before she committed herself further.[1] Anjou was young, supposed to be brave, and not without ability. Walsingham was decidedly in favour of the marriage. Cecil, though fully conscious of the objections, thought them far out-balanced by the advantages; and so many dangers threatened Elizabeth, that something might well be risked to extricate her. He drew a sketch of the conditions under which he considered that Anjou might be received. On the point on which the negotiations with the archduke had broken down he was particularly yielding. "The archduke had been required to conform to the Anglian communion. Anjou would do enough if he would acompany the queen to the Royal Chapel, and would promise, neither directly nor indirectly, 'to attempt the alteration of the laws established' in the constitution of the Church. The Liturgy might be modified to make it palatable to him. The prayers could be said in Latin, and the lessons read in Latin." "Should there be any manner of prayer or other thing in the book of the Divine Service of England that was not contained in Holy Scripture, nor used in the service of the Church of France, or if in the administration of the sacraments there were things different from the usage of the Church of France, neither the duke nor his servants need use the same otherwise than as their conscience should persuade." Still further, it might be hoped that in time the duke would conform wholly to the religion of his adopted country, but until he was persuaded to accept it with goodwill, Cecil thought that he might share the privilege of the ambassadors of the Catholic

[1] Lord Buckhurst to Elizabeth, March 16: *MSS. France.*

powers, and have a service of his own in a room in the palace." [1]

These proposals were submitted privately to the French council, and contained everything which they could reasonably demand. The French in return were ready to promise that the established religion should not be tampered with. The marriage ceremony it was thought might be performed in the English form; some prominent members of the French government, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, could be present as witnesses, and a special contract to be provided for the occasion would prevent a question from being afterwards raised as to the validity of the rite.[2]

The interests of Protestantism would have been more than answered by these mutual concessions, and Walsingham was most anxious that they should be confirmed and accepted by the principal parties. The queen-mother, he wrote, intended to

to any and every one in turn, as seemed to suit his interests, professed to be particularly anxious that this time the negotiation should be successful Cecil made up his mind to the duke's conversion, and saw him in imagination becoming "a professor of the Gospel," "a noble conqueror of all popery in Christendom;" while Walsingham, too eager to doubt that the marriage would be brought about, was busy knitting the political combinations which were to follow, and forming plans for the conquest of the Low Countries [4]

The marriage project, meanwhile, in its incipient stages, had not affected the diplomatic interference of France in behalf of the Queen of Scots Charles continued to declare that unless his sister-in-law was released he would have to take up her cause in earnest. M. de Virac remained at Dumbarton with the Hamiltons. La Mothe still pressed upon Elizabeth, and Elizabeth declared that she still intended to keep her promise. Notwithstanding the protest of the regent, the English council resolved itself into a commission for a final settlement. The

[Bi]shop of Galloway and Lord Livingston came up from Chats[w]orth.[1] They were well received by Elizabeth, and a suspen[si]on of hostilities was proclaimed in Scotland till the 1st of April, [b]y which time it was expected that all would be arranged. The [p]roceedings waited only for the appearance of the representa[t]ives of the regent; and the delay gave opportunities for informal [d]iscussions and endless intrigues. Maitland's letters were [d]eciphered and read by Cecil. La Mothe objected to the education of the prince in England. The threatened occupation of Scotch castles by English garrisons was equally intolerable to him; and Livingston intimated that it was preposterous to expect Scotch noblemen to reside at Elizabeth's court as hostages. Mary Stuart herself said, that without some equivalent she would not relinquish the French alliance and forfeit her dowry; while again, new features of the Queen of Scots' misdemeanours in England were coming perpetually to light. The Bishop of Ross was pointedly told that his mistress should think less of marrying Don John of Austria. The bishop, in turn, informed La Mothe that if the King of France would allow the Queen of Scots four thousand crowns a month, her friends would reduce Scotland in half-a-year, and Charles answered that he would consent, if the treaty came to nothing.[2]

But the interference of France was contingent on the success of the negotiation for Anjou. Elizabeth knew it, and her intentions towards her prisoner varied with her disposition towards matrimony. Her marriage, when once completed, would remove the political objections to the restoration; while if she backed out of it, the resentment of France at her trifling would enhance the danger a hundredfold.

At length Lennox consented to put in his appearance; th[e] Earl of Morton arrived for the young king, and the way towar[ds] a conclusion seemed to be opened. But Morton had not com[e] to London with any such intentions. The commission held [its] first sitting on the 24th of February. The earl, instead of co[n]senting to consider the details of the treaty, presented a passion[ate] remonstrance, expressing only with increased vehemence [the] objections which had been before conveyed through the Ab[bot] of Dunfermline. It was the old story, but it could not be [too] often repeated. When Morton ceased, Bacon rose to sup[port] him. "If the Queen of Scots was restored," said the [lord] keeper, "in three months she would kindle a fire which w[ould]

[1] January 14.
[2] The King of France to La Mothe, February 19: *Dépêches*, vol. vi[i].

wrap the island in flames, and which the power of man would fail to extinguish. If Elizabeth would recognise the prince and support the regent, all Scotland would instantly be at her devotion, and with Scotland hers she might defy the malice of the world. His mistress," he said, "believed herself bound by promises to the Queen of Scots; but neither the Queen of Scots nor her friends were prepared to fulfil the conditions under which alone the restoration could be contemplated. Without material securities it was not to be thought of, and securities adequate to the risk did not exist. To send Mary Stuart back to Scotland would alienate every friend which England possessed there; [illegible]

[illegible] could not be made till the right of every prince to his crown was first ascertained, the world would fall in pieces. It was enough that a king was a king, and the fewer questions asked the better."[1]

Elizabeth answered gloomily that if there was danger in restoring [illegible] ing her. [illegible] already [illegible] venture might be made The Bishop of Ross, in Mary Stuart's name, entreated that there might be no further delay: she was ready, he said, to make every concession that might be thought necessary. The hostages should be forthcoming, and the prince should be given up.

La Mothe supported the bishop, the general question was assumed to be settled, and the business went forward. The next step was the presentation of a petition by the Bishop of Ross, requiring that the abdication made at Lochleven should be declared invalid. Morton said fiercely that the grounds on which the queen had been deposed had been already examined into, and were sufficiently well known. The bishop replied, that subjects, whatever their complaints, had no rights over their princes. The tribunal to which a queen regnant was amenable, he argued, was a council of sovereigns, who alone could take cognisance of such a cause;[2] and he appealed with

[1] La Mothe, March 4, 1571. Short answers to four principal points, [illegible] MSS. Mary Queen of Scots. [illegible]

ct to Bishop Jewel, who had limited Christians "to prayers tears" when their princes tyrannised over them.

The fine talk did not affect Morton. He, with his life and tune at stake, fell back upon the facts. The government of otland, he said, was established in the person of the young ng. The change of the son for the mother had been made for lequate reasons; and if the Queen of England forsook him, ey could themselves find means to support him and to force bmission on the disobedient.

Remembering the complaints and entreaties for assistance vith which she had so long been besieged, Elizabeth fired up t these last words, which, if they meant anything, meant a revolt to France. "That language," she said when it was reported to her, "the Earl of Morton never brought with him from Scotland; it was put in his mouth by some of my own council, and they ought to be hanged outside the doors, with the words hung about their necks."[1]

Yet with Elizabeth, also, there were facts which were highly pressing. She had brought the Anjou complication upon herself, and she must either marry him or else affront him and turn him over with more certainty than ever to the Queen of Scots. The dispensation was promised by the pope, and the duke was supposed to have no objection to the change.[2]

reign, even though "he might be a terrible tyrant." "David himself, whom God always called a man after God's own heart, committed both murder and adultery, and yet his subjects, the Jews, rose not against him. But God not only continued his estate but also his son Solomon, gotten upon Bathsheba, enjoyed his chair and sceptre after him." "When God," he continued, "was minded to trouble the Kings of Judah for their sins, he punished them, not by the Jews, but by the Babylonians and Assyrians. He punished Saul, not by David, but by the Philistines." "So it was in the time of shadows." "In the time of grace and truth" the rule was made more clear. "Nero was an impure beast," yet God nevertheless declared that he was to be obeyed, not only for fear of vengeance, but also for conscience' sake. No one had condemned more distinctly "al wicked detestable rebels that went about under colour of rebellion t banish their natural sovereign," than Bishop Jewel. Bishop Jewel ha roved that whatever the crime of the sovereign, the arms of the Christia 'were but prayers and tears;" and Peter Martyr had said that "if were lawful for the people to put down their princes that reigned unjustl no prince should at any time be in safety."—Memorial presented by th Bishop of Ross, March 4: *MSS. Scotland.*

1 "Elle a dict qu'elle sçavoit que ledict Morton ne l'avoit aportée te de son pays, ains l'avoit aprinse icy d'aulcuns de ceulx mesmes du cons lesquelz elle vouloit bien dire qu'ilz estoient dignes d'estre penduz à porte du chasteau avec un rollet de leur advis au coul."—La Mot March 12.

2 So La Mothe says that Walsingham wrote from Paris. "Le S Walsingham a escript qu'il a descouvert ung propos qui se mêne chauldement pour maryer monsieur le frere de vostre majesté ave

now with Arundel and Norfolk.

Morton at last brought matters to a crisis by declaring that whatever might be the queen's pleasure, he had not brought powers with him to agree to the restoration. If she meant to persist, he must return to Scotland and consult the Estates. The English Parliament was about to meet. Elizabeth accepted Morton's excuses, and further discussion was prorogued indefinitely. She directed Lord Shrewsbury to pacify the Queen of Scots by assuring her that the settlement of her affairs was only postponed. The answer was not likely to be satisfactory, and she therefore told the earl that he must "take good heed

duke she might count upon their permanent indifference. It

disappointment no particular wisdom was required to foresee; but Elizabeth scarcely even yet comprehended the energy of the person with whom she had to deal The Queen of Scots had long anticipated that the treaty would end in nothing. She knew that Cecil was not a fool, and she must have soon been undeceived in her hope that she had gained him over. She believed Elizabeth to be as false as she knew herself to be, and before the conference opened she had written to the Archbishop of Glasgow to bid him stir the King of France in her favour.[2] A few weeks before, Anjou had all but proposed for her hand. The French court still professed the most ardent desire to help her, and La Mothe appeared to be working heartily with the Bishop of Ross. Suddenly, with overwhelming surprise, she

Royne d'Escoce et que le Pape luy promect la dispence et beaucoup d'avantaiges au monde en faveur dudict marriage, et que les choses en

learnt that her false lover was going over to the English queen; that a marriage between them was seriously contemplated, and that the fault would not be with Charles or Catherine if Anjou did not soon become the husband of Elizabeth. She, perhaps, might be kept in hand as a reserve card, if the other game was a failure; but her proud blood boiled at the indignity. That so detestable an alterative could be even contemplated by the French court at once convinced her that it was idle to hope that the queen-mother would really move for her. She had been hitherto embarrassed by the jealousies of the great powers. They would not act for her together, and if she threw herself upon one, she would offend the other. This difficulty was now at an end. Her hope, if hope she had, was in Spain and in the pope. To them the ill-omened union between Huguenot France and Protestant England would be as unwelcome as to herself; and, in his own defence, Philip would take up her cause at last.

Stung to fury by this unlooked-for blow, she watched with impatience the lingering of the treaty, which now she could scarcely wish to succeed. She at least had no expectation that Anjou would come back to her if she were free. Her friends in Scotland had looked to France to unloose the meshes of the obligations into which they were about to enter, and France, false, traitorous France, would only draw the cords tighter, and leave her a slave in Elizabeth's hands.

Alva caught the alarm like herself. He, too, had satisfied himself that peace in France meant war in the Netherlands. He had advised Mary Stuart in the autumn to consent to the treaty, but when he heard of the intended match, he felt that it would but throw her again into the hands of her rebel subjects, and that the chances of a Catholic revolution would be farther off than ever. She was recommended to attempt an escape, and if she could succeed, to make her way into Spain, where she could either marry Don John, or wait for Norfolk to declare himself a Catholic.[1]

Yet she was disturbed with seeing that Alva also seemed anxious to compound his quarrels with Elizabeth. The existing government of England was a reality to which the duke attached more importance than the Catholic refugees desired. The ease with which the northern rebellion had been put down weighed more with him than tabulated statistics on the numerical strength of the disaffected. The unflinching determination with which the queen maintained the privateers seemed to prove that she

[1] Mary Stuart to the Bishop of Ross, February 8: LABANOFF, vol. iii.

although insult was accumulated on insult, and injury on injury, he felt himself compelled to smother his resentment, and endeavour, by smooth words and humiliating concessions, to prevent this fresh addition to his embarrassments. His best chance of escaping a war with France was to reconcile himself with England. He understood Elizabeth's character well enough to know that she would never marry the Duke of Anjou if she could help it; but he believed also that she might be driven to it if pressed to extremities; and that the alliance between England and France thus cemented would be followed by the serious movement against Spain, for which the Huguenot chiefs were longing, and which Walsingham so enthusiastically anticipated.

Notwithstanding Chapin's failure, therefore, the Duke of Alva continued his pacific advances A third time he sent over a commissioner; not a soldier like the Marquis of Cetona, but a member of the Flemish council, Count Schwegenhem. The open object was the restitution of prizes and the re-opening of trade; the private object was to separate Elizabeth from the French; and Alva, to tempt her, made certain secret offers, the nature of which Elizabeth did not care to reveal, but it was something, she said, which would not a little have amazed La Mothe[2] Count Schwegenhem, however, went the way of his predecessors. The details of his public proposals were quarrelled over. The cargoes of the detained ships had been sold on both sides. The duke had taken advantage of a rise of prices in the Flanders markets, caused by the suspension of trade, to dispose of some English wool at a large profit. Elizabeth demanded the full sum which had been realised The duke allowed only the value set upon the wool at the time of its shipment The petty

[1] "Aqui tratan de molestar los Payses Baxos, creyendo por esta via escusar la molestia en sus Islas y aguardan aqui al Conde Ludovico de Nassau. Aperciben con tanta artilleria las naves destos Piratas Fla-

disagreement was made an excuse to suspend the *negotiations*; Count Schwegenhem was bowed out of the country; and the queen repeated what she had said to Chapin, that she would treat directly with the duke's master. It seemed as if she believed that Philip's forbearance was inexhaustible. She knew, or Cecil knew, that it was to him that the highest Catholics looked for assistance, and she wished to force them to recognise the idleness of their expectations. It was a game which might be tried too far; yet, for the present, it seemed to answer. Philip still did not rouse himself. Alava talked to Walsingham at Paris of the desirableness of a revival of the old alliance.[1] Don Guerau was obliged to apologise for Count Schwegenhem's failure, as if the cause of it had rested with the commissioner; and Leicester, as a new year's gift, presented Elizabeth with a group of figures wrought in gold, in which she was herself represented on a throne with the Queen of Scots in chains at her feet; France and Spain were being overwhelmed in the waves of the ocean, and Neptune, with the globe in his hand, was paying homage to the English sovereign.[2]

Extravagant, or at least premature—yet, amidst the suspicions and jealousies of the continental powers, the actual position of England was scarcely exaggerated; and the absurd spectacle was presented to the world of an excommunicated princess balancing herself so critically that it was supposed a push would overthrow her,[3] yet treating Spain with disdain, holding as a prisoner the Queen Dowager of France, making her country an asylum from which the refugees of the whole of Europe levied war upon their respective sovereigns, and all this time with these very sovereigns suing for her favour, and able to dictate the terms on which she would receive them again as her friends.

But there was one potentate who was not disposed to sit down meekly in so disgraceful a situation. It was not to see them thrust aside like dishonoured bills that Pope Pius had directed the censures of the Church against Elizabeth; and after all allowances for the secularity of temporal governments, he could ill brook and he could hardly comprehend this contemptuous disregard with which the sentence of the Holy See had been received. Spain was as much interested as Rome in the recon-

[1] Walsingham to Cecil, March 5: *Complete Ambassador.*
[2] Don Guerau to Cayas, January 9: *MSS. Simancas.*
[3] "Tiene su sceptro tan sobre palillos que cualquiera pequeña fuerça le derribaria."—Ibid.

version of England. He had lectured Philip on his duties, but his admonitions had been as vain as his entreaties. The Catholic king listened, acquiesced, and did nothing; and the pope perceived at last, that unless he could himself throw further

waited upon Pius at the end of January with a message from his master conveyed in the usual tone. The king, he said, was grieved to the soul at the behaviour of the Queen of England; he was most anxious to effect a change there; and his holiness might feel entire confidence that no opportunity would be passed over.

The King of Spain had sung the same song for twelve years, and no better opportunity would be likely to occur than one at least which had been allowed to escape. The pope replied to Don Juan, that the English Catholics had heavy grounds of complaint against the Christian powers Not only they had received no assistance from them, but his own bull had been suppressed in France, and never published in Spain or Flanders; the queen was encouraged by the respect which was paid her to persist in her disobedience, she had already been the principal mover of all the continental disturbances, and she would go on as she had begun as long as she remained on the throne.

Don Juan attempted excuses, but the pope cut him short.

operation of the French

The French, Don Juan replied, had been unable, or, to speak more truly, had not been willing, to root out heresy from among themselves. It was not likely that they would undertake the reduction of England They would make fair promises, entangle his master in a war with the queen, and then declare in her favour.[2]

If this was so, the pope said, the King of Spain might at least recall his ambassador, and prevent intercourse between his subjects and the English.

[1] "Un Rey Catolico natural del mismo Reyno" Not the Queen of Scots therefore.

[2] "Prometerían grandes cosas para hacer declarar á su Santidad y á V. Magd contra la Reyna y despues se juntarian con ella "

Don Juan could merely indicate that this would be to break prematurely with Elizabeth, and would do more harm than good.[1]

Nothing can show more clearly than this conversation the intense unwillingness of Philip to have an English quarrel forced upon him. Don Juan closed the despatch in which he described what had passed with saying, that if the pope showed any intention of interfering actively he would find means to prevent him.

But Philip was no longer to be left with his head run ostrich-like into the sand; a parallel effort to move him was made simultaneously, through the Duchess of Feria, by the Bishop of Ross, who sent over to Spain, evidently for Philip's perusal, a long and curious account of his mistress' positions and prospects. "The life of the Queen of Scots," the bishop said, "had been in great danger; Bacon, Bedford, and Cecil had urged the queen to put her to death; and, of all the ministers whom Elizabeth admitted to her confidence, Leicester only had opposed her execution. A revolution in her favour might have been effected with ease, if the King of Spain would have raised a finger; but the King of Spain had given no sign, all application to him for help had been so far received with coldness, and the Queen of Scots was now driven to entertain the question of a treaty. But the conditions offered to her were so intolerable that she would not accept them till she was assured for the last time that she had nothing to hope for. She would rather die than be the cause of the continued oppression of the Catholics; her party was falling to pieces, and unless the king helped her, she might consent to things which would cause her endless remorse and do fatal injury to the Christian faith. If the persecutions continued, the spirit of the Catholics would be broken, and a revolution would then be impossible. Lord Seton had been three months at Brussels trying to prevail on Alva, but he might as well have pleaded with the dead. The Spaniard, it seemed, depended for his information about the state of England on the reports of a few miserable wretches without faith and honesty.[2] Harbours, towns, supplies, the nobles of Scotland and England to assist the enterprise—all had been offered, and all in vain; and unless the Queen of Scots was shortly relieved, she would

[1] Don Juan de Cuniga á su Magd, January 27: *MSS. Simancas.*
[2] "Ellos entretanto se contentan mas, como se vee, de tomar informacion y noticia destas cosas de algunos baxos hombrecillos, de quien con razon se puede tener sospecha assi de su religion como de su sinceridad y bondad."

[illegible] some one that the [illegible] without doubt she [illegible]

"The Catholic king perhaps thought the Queen of Scots a person of no importance, but he should remember that to her God had given by right the sovereignty of the island of Britain. Her hand so dowered was not to be despised. A marriage had been spoken of for her with the Duke of Anjou or the Duke of Norfolk, but she was still free and at the King of Spain's disposition if only he would take her under his protection.

"[illegible] insole[illegible] her [illegible] desired. The Catholics could only suppose that he was influenced by some paltry pique or jealousy. The Duke of Feria had been spoken of as likely to supersede him in the Low Countries. The duchess was an English woman. The refugees were thought to belong to the Feria faction, and therefore Alva hated them. Every heretic spy found more favour in his eyes than they did.

"Finally and especially, the consciences of all Christians were shocked at the indifference which the King of Spain had displayed to the sentence of excommunication It was treated as if it had no existence The Catholics everywhere were lost in astonishment, and could but remember with fear the words of the Gospel, 'woe to that man by whom the offence cometh.'

"The Christian faith was decaying A princess gifted with the most exquisite graces of mind and person was sinking under the accumulated weight of ill-usage and undeserved infamy; the Catholic king himself, the pillar of the faith, was allowing his honour and reputation to be discredited in the world by the wrongs to which he was submitting at the hands of a bad woman.

"Would it then be of service, the bishop asked, "if he was himself to repair to Spain and lay the truth before his majesty? [illegible]

him to act; God himself had marked him out for the work by the power which he had trusted in his hands. If he would not declare himself openly, he might allow his subjects to volunteer for service in Ireland and Scotland, nor could any just reason be given for his refusal to allow the bull to be published in his

dominions, or for the scandal of the continual residence of his ambassador at the English court. The heretics boasted that the King of Spain feared the enmity of their sovereign and dared not quarrel with her." [1]

There was nothing in this letter which Philip must not have said often to himself; but the times were growing urgent. His resolution began to fail under the importunities of the Catholic world, and the pope soon after had an opportunity of assailing him in more regular form.

Mary Stuart was evidently one difficulty. Even the pope would have preferred some nobleman of unblemished character as the champion of Christ's Church, could any one have been found whom the English Catholics could agree to recognise. This, however, could not be. It was necessary to make the best of the Queen of Scots, and to rouse Philip out of his slumbers in her favour. From his agent Ridolfi, Pius was incessantly hearing of the number and zeal of his English friends, of Elizabeth's cruelty and their abundant ability to help themselves. Ridolfi declared that all the peers except four or five were openly or secretly disaffected. The pope said that he had never heard of a country where the will of the united nobility was not irresistible, and he told Ridolfi that if he could bring over some bond or engagement on the part of the lords, in which they would pledge themselves to a general insurrection, he would be able to lay the case before Philip in a form which could be no longer disregarded.

The moment was peculiarly favourable. Ridolfi must have been a man of no ordinary ability, for he had entirely deceived the English government as to his real character. His name had appeared in connection with the northern earls, but his professed occupation as a banker enabled him to explain every suspicious circumstance. He admitted without hesitation that the earls had borrowed money of him, but there was no evidence that he was aware of the purpose for which they wanted it, and he had come so well out of the inquiry that after Count Schwegenhem's departure, Walsingham recommended him to Cecil as a person who might be trusted to talk over with Philip the conditions of a possible arrangement.

An opportunity was thus created to Ridolfi's hand to repair unsuspected to the very countries where he wished to go, and to the persons with whom he wished to communicate. His osten-

[1] *MS. Simancas*, endorsed, "El Obispo de Ross." The letter is very long, and I have been obliged to condense it.

sible business would lay with Alva and the King of Spain, and the disputed question of the ownership of the money originally seized would necessarily take him to Italy.

So far nothing could be more fortunate. But if a larger movement was now to be attempted in England, the character and object of it had to be clearly determined. Divided counsels had spoilt the first rising, and before Philip would think of moving he would insist on seeing his way before him. Was Elizabeth to be deposed at once? or was she to be allowed to [illegible] John, as the Catholics desired? was it to be the Duke of Norfolk, the favourite of the great English country party? Norfolk had most friends, but he had not been reconciled to the Church, and the pope and Philip could not move to give the throne to a Protestant. Was there sufficient security for his conversion in the event of a revolution being accomplished?

The latter question was submitted by Ridolfi to the parties principally concerned just at the time when the restitution treaty was hanging fire in London.

The Duke of Norfolk, irresolute as ever, had drifted on between falsehood and loyalty, trusting partly that his friends would bring Elizabeth to consent to his marriage with the Queen of Scots, on the terms originally conceived between himself and Leicester and Pembroke, partly looking to the contingent insurrection if other means should fail. By hesitating at the critical moment he left his friends in the north to failure and exile; when the Stanleys would have raised the standard again, he was still uncertain and would not sanction their rising, but the Queen of Scots was now determined to force him to a resolution, and she sent him word, through the Bishop of Ross, that he must make up his mind. It was idle to wait any longer for Elizabeth's approval. An application was about to be made to the King of Spain in the Queen of Scots' behalf. If the Duke of Norfolk would commit himself finally to the measures which were in contemplation, she was ready to fulfil her own engagements with him. If he shrunk from the danger or felt unequal to the enterprise, she said that she must hold herself free to make other arrangements.

The English peers still looked to Norfolk with a feudal attachment as the first of their order. Many of them represented to Don Guerau that they were still anxious that the Queen of Scots

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The English peers still looked to Norfolk with a feudal attachment as the first of their order. Many of them represented to Don Guerau that they were still anxious that the Queen of Scots

should marry him if the King of Spain would sanction it.[1] Two alternatives therefore, and two only, now lay before the duke: either to retire from the field, and leave the Queen of Scots to look for some other alliance, or to declare himself privately a Catholic and offer himself through Ridolfi to the pope and Philip as the instrument of an armed revolution.[2]

True to his character, Norfolk struggled hard to avoid committing himself. The prospect of the throne was too tempting to be abandoned, but he shivered at the thought of palpable and positive treason. He allowed Ridolfi to visit him at his own house. He talked over a plan of invasion which would give Alva, as he conceived, a certainty of success. He even empowered Ridolfi to assure Alva that he would come forward immediately on the landing of a Spanish army, but he shrunk from setting his name to any document of which Ridolfi was to be the bearer. The papers might fall into wrong hands, and the scaffold had terrors for him.

But Norfolk's signature was the one security which Ridolfi knew to be indispensable. He insisted, and the duke yielded.[3] He was assured that by consenting he would heal the divisions by which the Catholics were prevented from acting together. The threatened marriage between Elizabeth and Anjou screwed his courage to the sticking point. Being still under surveillance at his own house, he was unable to consult freely with his friends, but he gathered heart from a list of peers who Ridolfi told him would sign if he would sign. No less than forty noblemen professed to be waiting only for an opportunity to declare in arms against Elizabeth, and of the rest a third were neutral.[4]

[1] "Hallandose ahora aqui la Corte, y en ella los mas principales Catolicos, han aprestado otra vez la platica del casamiento del dicho Duque de Norfold con la Reyna de Escocia y restitucion de la religion Catolica. Piden socorro de V. Magd, pero yo no he querido salir de la orden del Duque de Alva ni darles confiança ni desconfiança, hasta que el dicho Duque me tiene mandado."—Don Guerau to Philip, February 6: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Confession of the Bishop of Ross: MURDIN.

[3] Norfolk swore afterwards that he had signed nothing. The Bishop of Ross, though he admitted that Ridolfi had received every encouragement short of absolute signature; that a letter written in the duke's name had been read over to him, and had been approved by him; and that in essentials he was thoroughly implicated, yet in that one point supported his denial. But a letter from the duke to Philip survives at Simancas to make his formal guilt as indisputable as his substantial complicity.

[4] The *forty* were, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earls of Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Derby, Worcester, Cumberland, Southampton, Viscount Montague, Lords Howard, Abergavenny, Audley, Morley, Cobham, Clinton, Grey de Wilton, Dudley, Ogle, Latimer, Scrope, Monteagle, Sandys, Vaux, Windsor, St.

It need not be supposed that all the party had been consulted severally, or could have been admitted safely to a dangerous secret. They were men, however, notoriously opposed to the Reformation policy of Elizabeth's government, and among them were Clinton, the admiral of the fleet, and Shrewsbury, under [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
into England. Parliament was to open on the 1st of April. The arrangements of the conspirators were completed by the middle of March. Ridolfi, after a circuit to Brussels, Rome, and Madrid, expected to be again in London before the close of the summer, while the peers would still be assembled and in a position to act.[1]

Don Guerau, in a letter sent direct to Spain, prepared Philip for Ridolfi's coming:—

DON GUERAU TO PHILIP[2]

March 16.

"The Queen of Scots, the Duke of Norfolk, and the other Catholic leaders, have arrived, after long deliberation, at a most important conclusion. The Queen of Scots will send a commissioner to your majesty, with instructions the copy of which I enclose. He will explain fully to his holiness and to your majesty the miserable state to which this country is reduced, the probability that the Catholics have yet greater cruelties to undergo, and the solitary prospect of escape which is open to them through the assistance of those who support the claim of the Queen of Scots to the succession of these realms. The other competitors, the Earls of Hertford and Huntingdon, are heretics. Your majesty will be given to understand the unhappy state of

John, Burgh, Mordaunt, Paget, Wharton, Rich, Stafford, Dacres, Darcy, Hastings, Berkeley, Cromwell, Lumley.

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
from the bitterness with which they were hated and despised.—"List of the English Nobility, with a note of the part which each nobleman was prepared to take": *MSS. Simancas.*

[1] Norfolk himself, with many of the rest, gave letters of credit in their own hands to Ridolfi. The originals were left as a precaution in the hands of Don Guerau, and transcripts in Don Guerau's cypher were forwarded to Rome and to Spain.

[2] *MS. Simancas.*

at princess, and the sufferings to which the good[1] are exposed
ho favour the cause. The Queen of England does but dally in
ffecting to treat for her restoration. More than once she has
proposed to put her to death, and she forbears only the more
effectually to ruin her Catholic subjects. She entertains them
with the hope of an agreement, while the heretics persecute
them at their pleasure. The friends of the Queen of Scots
therefore have decided that she must throw herself upon the
protection of the Christian princes, and especially of the pope's
holiness and of your majesty. They are willing to venture their
lives and fortunes for religion and for that queen's title. The
Duke of Norfolk, the first nobleman in England, consents to place
himself at their head. The duke has ever in secret favoured
the Catholics. His chief friends are Catholics, and he has
constantly supported the Queen of Scots in deed and word.
He possesses therefore the full confidence of the Catholic party.

"This duke at the same time is the leader of a section of the
heretics who might perhaps abandon him were he to be openly
reconciled to the Church. It is in consequence considered
expedient that he should temporise, the better to use their
assistance and bring them under the yoke of the Church when
occasion shall serve. He has influence among the Protestants
in two ways: first, a great many of them favour the Queen of
Scots' title. They believe that she has the right, and they
resent the late imprisonment of the duke on her account. Th
Queen of England intends in the approaching Parliament t
advance the claims of the Earl of Hertford, and they will tak
arms with the duke to prevent such a wrong from being done.

"Secondly, they are alarmed and angry at the marria
which is now talked of between the Queen of England and t
Duke of Anjou. The queen is supposed to have set her he
upon it, and it is thought that the Protestants would ev
prefer the restoration of the faith to the consummation o
union which they detest. The commissioner will take espe
pains to explain the nature of Norfolk's position to the pope
that his holiness may be satisfied about him; and it wil
well if the duke can be induced to seek absolution at his holin
hands, and to submit his conduct in all particulars to his
ness's judgment. The Queen of Scots desires him to do th
order that, should your majesty prefer to arrange the ma
for her with Don John, which his holiness so much desire
holiness may the better be able to urge the duke to give

[1] The usual phrase in these despatches to express the Catholi

by representing to him that particular interests must not be allowed to obstruct the universal good of Christendom [1]

"The commissioner will request his holiness to send some one [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

religion, the duke being the only person through whose assistance the work can be done. Against the duke's wishes it would be extremely difficult for any foreign prince to carry off the Queen of Scots by force, or if she were out of the country to bring her back and place her upon the throne.

"Your majesty will understand that no word of all this is known in France, nor has the Queen of Scots let fall a hint of it to any of her own relations She places her confidence in your majesty alone, and with your majesty, if God gives her grace to obtain her just rights, she will maintain the ancient league and confederation which has so long existed between her and your progenitors.

"She will consent also to a proposal made to her by the late Queen of Spain before her death, for a marriage between her son the Prince of Scotland and one of your majesty's daughters. Your majesty's pleasure in this matter will be hers She will place the prince in your majesty's hands, to be educated at your court in virtue and the Christian faith.

"Your majesty will also hear in detail the nature of the assistance which will be required, the native force with which your [illegible] the Q[illegible] arres[illegible] this is no ill-considered enterprise in which you are invited to take part, and that your soldiers will be in no danger

Accompanying this letter, as Don Guerau stated, were transcripts of the commissions given both by the Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk to Ridolfi. The Queen of Scots had not at first intended to communicate to Don Guerau the full details of the plot She feared that he would send a sketch of

[1] So I understand a rather complicated passage — Lo qual parece á la Reyna de Escocia assi, á fin que si V. Magd quisiese diferir esto, para tratar el casamiento del Sr Don Juan de Austria—el qual su Santidad desea mucho—haya de apretarlo y pasar adelante, ofreciendose tales occasiones para el bien universal de la Xdad, el qual no se debe impedir por ningun designo particular."

If I translate rightly, Mary Stuart hoped to balk the wretched Norfolk of the [illegible]

them prematurely to Alva, and that Alva would form an unfavourable opinion with an imperfect case before him. But the Bishop of Ross feared to awake Don Guerau's suspicions by mutilated confidence. If Don Guerau felt his footsteps insecure anywhere in such a sea of quicksands, he would report in a hostile spirit, and the scheme would be ruined.

Mary Stuart's letter was therefore laid before him exactly as she wrote it, and the ambassador's own account to Philip was in parts a mere duplicate of the Queen of Scots' words. In form it was addressed to Ridolfi, and the matter which it contained was to be laid before the pope and Philip.

With extreme skill, and touching with comparative lightness on her personal sufferings, she turned the substance of her representations entirely upon the cause of the Catholic Church. When she spoke of her title and claims, she seemed to value them chiefly as means towards the restoration of the faith; and her own injuries appeared most to grieve her through the sympathy which they excited among the Catholic noblemen—a sympathy which, immediately that it was manifested, brought down upon her friends the most cruel and malignant persecutions. "Some were in prison," she said, "some murdered, some in exile, and she was so grieved that she prayed often it might be the will of God to take her out of the world. If she was once dead and beyond the reach of the hard woman who had her in her hands, the Catholics, she thought, would then be more patient, and would be content to wait till God took pity on them."

"She was mocked at, trifled with, and insulted with hopes of release which were never intended to be realised. She was in daily expectation of assassination either by poison or open violence. A person had once even come to the place where she was with a commission to kill her, and she was kept alive only that Scotland might be plunged into the miseries of uncertainty and civil war, and that Elizabeth might make her hateful to her subjects by representing to them that she was the cause of their sufferings."

She then went on to speak of Norfolk and the English nobility, of their friendliness to herself; their zeal for the Catholic Church, and their determination to risk life and fortune to overturn the present government. She touched approvingly on Norfolk's treachery to the Protestants in pretending still to belong to them, on the Anjou marriage, and the fury of the English people at the prospect of having a French prince among them;

bearance which she had shown to a pretender to her crown. Yet benefits, when undeserved, are but added injuries; and rage, hatred, jealousy, the thousand passions which failure upon failure had aggravated to madness, explain entirely the desperate course upon which the imprisoned queen was now venturing.

Far different was the position of the Duke of Norfolk. Norfolk knew Mary Stuart's story, and never pretended to believe her the suffering innocent which her friends now represented her to be. Norfolk was Elizabeth's subject, but lately pardoned by her for offences for which her father would have made short work with him. Bound to her by the most solemn promises, which on the moment when he made them he had determined to break, and without even the poor pretext of religion to invest his treason with spurious sanctity—Norfolk's instructions come next. Whether written by himself matters little. He denied them, but the evidence of their substantial authenticity is too strong to be shaken by his own tainted word. They were read over in his presence and approved by him, and the bearer carried credentials from him to the King of Spain.

He, too, like the Queen of Scots, addressed himself in form to Ridolfi.[1] "Such," he said, "is the confidence which is placed in you by the Queen of Scots, by myself, and by others our friends in this realm, that, with common consent, we entrust a matter to your diligence and honesty, which touches the safety of our own lives, the welfare of this nation, and, generally, of the whole of Christendom. We commission you to go with all expedition, first to Rome and then to the Catholic king, that you may lay before his holiness and his majesty the wretched state of this island, our own particular wrongs, as I have more largely by word of mouth made them known to you, and an assured mode by which our country and ourselves can obtain relief.

"The Queen of Scots has informed you what you will say on her part. I on mine, and in the names of the larger number of the peers of this realm—the list of whom you carry with you—declare our own opinions in the following words; and we pray God to conduct you safely through your journey, and to bring you back with happy success.

"You will tell his holiness and the king that, to all appearance, bad things will grow to worse among us, unless God of his mercy shall move them to look upon our afflictions and assist

[1] Instructions of the Duke of Norfolk to Robert Ridolfi: *MSS. Simancas.*

us—as they may now do with ease and safety—to advance the title of the Queen of Scots, to restore the Catholic religion, and to suppress the pretensions of the Earls of Hertford and Huntingdon, who on various grounds aspire to the succession, and, being Huguenots, find favour with the heretics.

"You will make known the good and prompt disposition of [illegible] numbers and rank, [illegible] is now offered for [illegible] the just title of the Queen of Scots, many of the Protestants regarding religion as *of less importance than the succession, and being*, therefore, ready to support the Queen of Scots against the rival claimants.

"And since his holiness and the Catholic king may have hitherto been dissatisfied with me, as having in some sort affected to be a Huguenot, you will say that I have never been disloyal to the Holy See, but have desired only to hold myself in readiness (when an occasion like the present should offer itself) to do some service to my country and the common weal of Christendom;[1] as the event will show if they give us now the aid for which we ask My hope is to unite this whole island under one sovereign, and restore the ancient laws and the ancient religion. Yet, because on account of the Queen of Scots' title, many Huguenots work with me and under me, they must not be surprised if I do not as yet make known my purpose to every one. You will kiss the feet of his holiness in my name and that of the nobles, and you will say that, if God gives me grace to conduct this enterprise to a happy end, I will then be content to do anything which his holiness, the King of Spain, and the Queen of Scots shall ordain.

"I and my friends will adventure our lives in the cause, and I beseech his holiness to use his influence with the Catholic king in our behalf. You will convince his majesty of the sincere hearts with which we turn to him, and although I may at times, either for the sake of the Queen of Scots or for other causes, have seemed to incline too much towards France, you will say that I have never been French at heart, but that my inclinations have been always towards his majesty, as I hope I shall have occasion to prove. I turn to him as my most sure refuge. I

[1] "Y quando su Santidad y el Rey hasta agora hubiesen tenido alguna [illegible]

beseech him to help me in the interests of the Christian world. The pernicious purpose of those about the queen is to determine the succession to some one of their own sort, and to establish the Huguenot religion, not here only, but in all Europe. If this be done, the king's Low Countries will be in danger, especially if the marriage take effect between the queen and the Duke of Anjou—but that marriage shall never be, if the king will aid us in preventing it.

"You will tell his majesty that, in return for the confidence which we place in him, we trust he will approve of my own marriage with the Queen of Scots. Half the realm desires it as well as I. We bind ourselves to renew the league between England and Spain, and to restore, as we should have long ago done but for the late troubles, all the property of the king which is detained in this country. His majesty will find us ready to do our own parts. The nobles and the people promise to take arms with myself at their head, and to adventure themselves in battle; yet, being imperfectly provided, we cannot do all of ourselves. We ask his majesty for money, arms, ammunition, troops, and especially for some experienced soldier to lead us;[1] we on our part providing a place upon the coast where his army can land, entrench itself, and keep its stores.

"We can ourselves on the spot provide 20,000 foot and 3000 horse; besides those many others who have pledged themselves afterwards to take the field upon our side.

"In my own opinion, the most convenient port will be Harwich, where I can myself be present with the forces of the country. If Portsmouth be thought better, I will be there in strength enough, for a time at least, to hold in check the Queen of England's army. From his majesty and his holiness we ask for 6000 harquebusmen, with 4000 additional harquebuses to arm our own people, 2000 corslets, and 25 pieces of artillery. 3000 horses will be wanted also, to keep command of the country in case the Queen of England make more resistance than it is thought she will be able to do. Money will be wanted also; and if the enterprise succeed, as with the help of God and of his majesty it must, I and the Queen of Scots undertake to reimburse his majesty for all the expenses which he may incur. Were it possible to increase the succour to 10,000, 2000 men being landed in Scotland, and 2000 in Ireland, the queen would have to divide her forces, and success would be the more certain.

[1] "Se digne assister nos lo mas pronto que pudiese, assi con dineros como con el numero de gente, armas y municiones, y principalmente con un personage de experiencia para guiar un exercito."

"If the war with the Turks, or other impediment, make it necessary for his majesty to put us off, I and others, if it seems expedient, might retire to Spain or Flanders, and wait for a more convenient time. The Queen of Scots, however, must be first set at liberty. If we go away and leave her in the Queen of England's hands, she will be destroyed.

"If the Queen of England be left with her present advisers, the Low Countries will never be secure. After the success of our proposed scheme, his majesty need fear no further troubles there, and you will tell the king therefore that it should be

credit from me and from all my friends for his holiness, the king, and the Duke of Alva;[1] but as both you and the Bishop of Ross are of opinion that these letters may be dangerous both to yourselves and to us, you may leave them in the hands of the Spanish ambassador; you will ask him, from me, to transcribe them in his own cipher, and send copies to each of the princes, and assure them that he is in possession of the originals;[2] giving at the same time the reasons why you have them not with you. If I can see the ambassador and confirm to him what I have said to you, I will do so If not, I must let him know by letter. I will write with so much the more warmth to his majesty, whose hand you will kiss with all due reverence in my name.[3] You must insist on my desire to serve him, and entreat him to think well of me.

et cætera quæ mearum virium sunt, sed et vitam denique meam in Dei

"To the Duke of Alva you will give my commendations: ou will admit him as far as you think proper into our plans— nd as you find him disposed, you will ask for his favourable etters to his holiness and the king. You will require him as a prince of honour not to betray us; and you will leave our cipher with him, that we may keep him informed of what is going on among us.

"And, because the King of Portugal is also much offende with the Queen of England, I think that, being a most Catholi prince, he cannot but favour us. As this prince has no amba sador residing here through whom I can communicate with him, you will ask his holiness and the Catholic king to introduce you to him; and when you shall have left them, and shall have let us know what we are to look for from them, you may return through Portugal, and tell the king, that if he will join our enterprise, I will undertake to see him satisfied for the injuries which he has sustained. He can help us much by throwing men into Ireland or Scotland. It will not be suspected, and his transports could be on the coast before a word had been heard about them. The queen will have to divide her force. She will be disturbed and terrified, and the rest of the work can be executed with greater ease."[1]

That ambiguous crime of treason, which graduates, accordin to its object and circumstances, through all moral degrees, fro the most sublime virtue to the deepest wickedness, has rarel appeared less favourably that in this unlucky paper. If th Duke of Norfolk is to be credited with a sincere conversion the Roman faith, that faith itself assumed in his person its m revolting and perfidious aspect. The penitent was not reveal his creed because he was still trusted by those wh he was betraying; and because, by retaining their c fidence, he could serve the Catholic interests more effectu If, as he afterwards protested, he remained at heart a testant, he was deceiving alike his new friends and his old.

gloriam exponere summâ fide polliceor. Cætera vero quæ Væ nuntius abunde et perspicace (*sic*) coram disseret ad Væ Majtis sun prudentiam, sicut et mea omnia definienda supplex refero, quam s incolumem servet et tueatur Deus Optimus Maximus. Londini, vi Martii 1571.

"Celeritudinis tuæ addictissimus servus,
"THOMAS DUX NORFOL

—*MSS. Simancas.*

[1] Commission of the Duke of Norfolk to Ridolfi: *MSS. Simanc* Italian version of the same document has been printed by Laban the Vatican Archives.

was without the solitary excuse which he might have pleaded in palliation of his treachery. He was bringing an army of strangers upon England, he was preparing to inflict upon his countrymen the inevitable horrors of invasion and civil war, to gratify his own pride and paltry ambition. Doubtless, to his conscience, if conscience pricked him, he could say that there [illegible]

hated Cromwell, might have reasonably offended his prejudices. Doubtless, even while he called himself a Lutheran he had no sympathy with the Protestantism of France, and Scotland, and the Low Countries, which Cecil's policy encouraged and protected; yet, it was not to remedy such ills as these that Alva's legions should have been called in to water English soil with English blood. Not on such grounds as these should he have sought the overthrow of a government, which, however grave its shortcomings, was the mildest which England had known for many a century. He might sigh for the patriarchal days of feudalism, when the earls and dukes were local sovereigns, and no upstart commoner could stride before them on the road to power; but there was little likelihood that the ancient order and reverence which he and his friends so much regretted could be re-established by lying and treachery, or that a purer creed could be brought back into the Church by placing Elizabeth's sceptre in the hands of Bothwell's paramour. There had been a time when Norfolk would not have required to be reminded of such common truths. He was not naturally mean or false. But the spell of the enchantment was upon him, and the woman, for whose sake he was fouling his hands with baseness, was intending secretly, when she had used his services, to dupe him at last out of his reward

Thus Ridolfi went—ostensibly on Elizabeth's business—to return if possible in the summer with the Spanish army, and Norfolk lay waiting in Howard House for the springing of the mine, while Mary Stuart corresponded with Elizabeth about the treaty as if her thoughts were absorbed in that and that only. She appealed from Elizabeth ill informed by her detractors to Elizabeth who would one day hear her defence; [illegible]

[1] " Veu comme desubs que je ne désire rien mouvoir de ma part pour

In signal contrast with all this treachery and conspiracy, a remarkable exploit in Scotland threw sudden credit on the regent's government, gave heart to the Protestants, and encouraged Elizabeth in her resolution to postpone for a time at least the further consideration of the Queen of Scots' restitution.

The Castle of Dumbarton has been many times mentioned in this history. The rock on which it stands forms the point of a peninsula at the confluence of the Leven and the Clyde. It rises sheer from the water to a height of two hundred feet. The circumference at the base is less than half a mile, and the sides, if not entirely perpendicular, are so near it that there is but one spot where it can be ascended without ladders or ropes. The rock is united to the mainland only by a low strip of marsh and meadow which at that time was flooded by high tides. In a cleft near the summit there is a spring of water, and thus before the invention of shells the place was virtually impregnable except by famine. It had been held by Lord Fleming, in the name of Mary Stuart, from the beginning of the troubles in Scotland. It was to Dumbarton that she was retreating when intercepted at Langside. Dumbarton was the open gate through which French or Spaniards could have entrance into Scotland. It was a sanctuary of disaffection; a shelter for English Catholic rebels; a residence for a French minister, who was kept there to nourish hopes which might or might not be realised, and commanding free access to the sea was a focus and hotbed of intrigues with the continental powers. The two regents had watched anxiously for a chance of getting possession of it. The journey in which Murray lost his life had been undertaken in the vain hope that it would be surrendered. Sir William Drury surveyed it after he had destroyed Hamilton Castle, and a ball from a ditch had nearly ended his course there. The occupation of Dumbarton by an English garrison was among the conditions demanded by Elizabeth in the treaty. But for the present Queen Mary's banner waved above the battlements on Wallace's Tower; Fleming was still in command; the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who had been proclaimed traitor after Murray's murder, found shelter behind its crags. De Virac was there, superintending the supplies of arms and money which were continually coming in from France, and beside others there was a young Englishman also, named Hall, a friend of Sir

ne vous desplayre sans aultre respect je vous jure."—Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, March 27; and compare same to the same, March 31: LABANOFF, vol. iii.

Thomas Stanley, who had been concerned in the last Lancashire conspiracy.

It has been said that while the treaty was under consideration in London the two parties in Scotland had suspended hostilities. The conference having broken up, the armistice was not to be renewed and was to terminate on the 1st of April. In the last week of March, a man who had been a servant in the castle, and bore some grudge against Lord Fleming for ill-treatment of his wife, came to Lennox at Glasgow, and told him that the garrison was keeping negligent watch, and that the place might be surprised. Crawford of Jordanhill, Darnley's last friend, who had shared his confidence on Mary Stuart's fatal visit to him, was now an officer of Lennox's guard. Throughout the civil war, when any exploit of note and mark was to be accomplished, Crawford was always among the foremost. He was a man of great personal courage, devoted to the young king, and one of those who were most anxious to avenge his father's murder. He had a follower of his own who had once lived at Dumbarton, and knew his way about the cliffs, and with this man's help Crawford, when the regent consulted him, determined to undertake the enterprise. If done at all it was to be done at the first permissible moment, before the recommencement of the war placed Fleming again upon the alert. On the 31st of March, an hour before sunset, Crawford, with one of the Ramsays and a hundred and fifty men, went quietly out of [illegible]

half up the river. The moon set shortly after, and with their guns strapped to their backs, the ladders slung between them, and attached in line by the cords that none might stray, they [illegible]

light was dangerously near when they reached the foot of the rock. As dawn approached, however, the moist air from the Clyde condensed upon the crags and wrapped the castle in vapour. The watch was weakest where the rock was highest, and there, exactly under Wallace's Tower at the north-east corner where the road from the town first touches the cliff, they made preparations to ascend. For the first forty feet there was a sheer precipice. The cliff then split, making a kind of

[illegible]

leave to depart. They were told that if they had committed no crime against their sovereign they had nothing to fear: but for the present they must be considered prisoners like the rest.

The news of success was carried rapidly to Glasgow, and the regent was on the spot by ten o'clock. Of the spoils, the money, powder, arms, guns, provisions, wine—the stores of all kinds, so carefully collected to maintain the garrison—were shared among the captors. Lennox retained only the archbishop and his companions in captivity.[1]

It was supposed at first that so remarkable a feat could not have been performed without the help of treachery. But Crawford was able to say proudly "that he had had no manner of intelligence within the house nor without the house." The capture was a fair achievement of daring and adroitness, aided only by the carelessness which had invited the attempt. The English prisoners were sent to Berwick; de Virac was allowed to go his way; Lady Fleming was treated with the utmost courtesy which the circumstances allowed, and the garrison was pardoned and dismissed.

Archbishop Hamilton alone was preserved, to pay the score which had been so long accumulating against him.

It may be much to say that in all Scotland there was not one man who had better earned a halter than the Archbishop of St. Andrew's. There was the Calvinist minister of Spott, who was never silent about the crimes of Queen Mary, when, with at least equal atrocity, he was murdering his own wife. There was Kennedy, Earl of Cassilis, who roasted the Abbot of Crossraguel before a slow fire in a dungeon, to make him sign away his lands, and Hamilton was rather unfortunate in the number of his iniquities which were brought to light, than in any special distinction above the other miscreants of his time. Of a churchman he had nothing in him beyond the appetite for persecution. It was he who had burnt Walter Milne, the last of the Scottish martyrs. He was made Beton's successor only because he was the brother of the Duke of Chatelherault, and because the revenue of the archbishopric was a splendid pro-

[1] Compare Buchanan's History of Scotland. Crawford's letter to Knox in Bannatyne's Memorials, and a letter of Sir W. Drury to Cecil, April 9: *MSS. Border*.

vision for his vices. He had been the prime adviser in the late intrigues of his family. He had been in the secret of the murder of Darnley. It removed an obstacle between the Hamiltons and the crown. He had promoted and pronounced the infamous divorce of Bothwell, knowing or hoping that in marrying him the queen would destroy herself; and while affecting to be her warmest friend, he had offered in the name of his family to support Morton and Lindsay in putting her to death, if the regency was given back to his brother, and the succession after the prince secured to his brother's heirs. His last and foulest crime had been the murder of Murray, which was perpetrated by his kinsman, and traced in its contrivance to himself, his nephews, and Mary Stuart's household.

There was but one gaoler in Scotland whose bolts neither bribe nor intrigue could undo; and to that dark keeping Lennox hastened to consign him. He begged hard for a brief respite, if only that he might have some form of trial; but the regent knew that if he waited till a post could reach London and return from it, his hands would be tied by the Queen of England. The notoriety of his guilt was held to be sufficient proof against him, and an Act of a so-called Parliament an adequate sentence. He was sent the way of his predecessor by the wild justice of revenge. Beton had been stabbed in his own room, dangled out of a window of his castle, and salted in the dungeon of the Sea Tower. Hamilton was hanged at Stirling five days after his capture; some not unlettered hand writing upon the gibbet—

> Cresce diu, felix arbor, semperque vireto:
> Oh utinam semper talia poma feras.[1]

Elizabeth forgave easily an execution which her weakness would have allowed her to prevent. She congratulated Lennox on his success, and she recommended him to keep Dumbarton as surely as it had been bravely won.[2]

[1] Long may'st thou grow and thrive, thou bounteous tree,
To bear for aye such fruits as this we see.

[2] Elizabeth to Lennox, April 22: *MSS. Scotland.*

CHAPTER XXI

THE SUCCESSION TO THE CROWN—THE RIDOLFI CONSPIRACY—STATE OF SCOTLAND

FROM the great day when Wolsey ceased to be a minister, when Cardinal Campeggio left England carrying with him the curses of the people and the stolen love-letters from Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn, the Parliament met year after year for a quarter of a century, almost without intermission. In the early steps of the revolution, whether it was in the reconstruction of the law, the establishment of the succession, the attainder of a minister, or the decapitation of a queen, the representatives of the people were seen, for good or evil, taking their share in the actions of the crown

Whether it was, according to the modern theory, that the Parliaments of Henry VIII were but the mechanical instruments of a despot's caprice, or that the great body of the nation sin- [illegible]

which has survived so many centuries of change, proves conclusively that whatever may have been the moral character of [illegible]

The practice of annual or frequent Parliaments, commenced by King Henry, was followed reluctantly and with less success by the Protector Somerset, the Duke of Northumberland, and Queen Mary. Disagreements naturally rose between the crown and the Peers and Commons, when the government remained in the hands of one or other of the extreme parties in the country. With the accession of Elizabeth [illegible]

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Whether it was, according to the modern theory, that the Parliaments of Henry VIII were but the mechanical instruments of a despot's caprice, or that the great body of the nation sin-

which in its intellectual structure, and in the enduring vitality which has survived so many centuries of change, proves conclusively that whatever may have been the moral character of

by King Henry, was followed reluctantly and with less success by the Protector Somerset, the Duke of Northumberland, and Queen Mary. Disagreements naturally rose between the crown and the Peers and Commons, when the government remained in the hands of one or other of the extreme parties in the country. With the accession of Elizabeth and a return to a more moderate policy, the good understanding might have been expected to come back. It might have been thought that the queen would have followed the example of her father in this respect if in no other so confessedly excellent, and that no season would have been allowed to pass without the opinion of the country being allowed to express itself through its legitimate channels

them, and with what pretext could Elizabeth have resisted? She could not have resisted at all. She would have had no power and probably no will to resist; and beyond reasonable doubt Parliament would not have again separated till the long-vexed question had been determined in Mary Stuart's favour.

The prospects of a lady who had presided over the horrors at Kirk-a-Field were far less promising. The political reasons in favour of her succession were as strong as ever; but it was no longer possible for an English nobleman to rise in Parliament and speak openly for her title. Her cause was now maintained in secret by conspiracy and rebellion, rebellion under false pretences, and lying pamphlets, and parallels of David. The Catholic religion, shrinking from the light among these subterranean elements, was losing what of English frankness there lay [illegible]

as they again and again said, was their only hope, and they were themselves degraded to the level of the cause which they were supporting. Passion and fanaticism were called in to defend what reason could not justify, the religious reaction was precipitated into the most extravagant forms, and Puritanism on the other side was destroying much that was left of moderate counsels. Had Elizabeth published Mary Stuart's letters after the inquiry at Westminster—had she done this, and coupled with it the recognition of James as King of Scotland and her successor—half her own troubles would have been avoided, and half the national perils But she had allowed the opportunity to pass, and she could not recall it The two Houses were now divided, and were the representatives of two religions and two policies. The Norfolk marriage was likely to be revived among the Peers and pressed upon her consent; the Commons would probably boil over in some fierce stream of anti-popery, would insist on declaring the Queen of Scots incapable of the succession and recognising one of Lord Hertford's children, while both alike would combine in not undeserved reproaches against herself.

It was no wonder that Elizabeth dreaded the meeting of another Parliament, but an empty treasury made longer delay impossible. The suspension of commerce had ruined the customs. Ireland absorbed annually almost a fourth of the ordinary revenue; and Scotland, and the navy, and the expenses

border, and the secret-service money—taking the form chiefly of subsidies to the Prince of Orange and the Huguenots—were making demands upon the exchequer which no economy could meet. The lands of the northern earls could not be touched till they were attainted, and in some form or other the bull of Pope Pius required an answer from the nation.

The Houses were to meet on the 2nd of April. The forty noblemen who were parties to the Ridolfi plot would be in London with their retinues; and the Queen of Scots, who had reason to believe that measures might be introduced unfavourable to herself, and who recollected how Morton, Lindsay, and Ruthven had broken up the Parliament at Edinburgh which was to have attainted Murray, conceived that the same game might be repeated by her present friends with equal success. The Duke of Alva's willingness to assist her would be proportioned to the energy of the English Catholics themselves. The Duke of Norfolk, though released from the Tower, was not to be allowed to take his seat among the Peers. The great party of which he was the leader was deeply affronted, and their resentment might be utilised to practical effect. The servants and followers of the lords would be sufficient, if combined, to overcome the utmost resistance which could be offered by the court; and the Queen of Scots once more endeavoured to spur her languid lover into energy. She recommended him and Arundel to surprise the queen, seize her and Cecil, and before the opening scatter such of the Commons as had arrived, and so end the Anjou marriage and all other troubles at a single blow.[1] The scheme was perhaps not impracticable. The court suspected nothing. The Bishop of Ross talked it over with the Catholic leaders. Arundel, Lumley, Worcester, Southampton, Montague, and several others were ready. Lord Derby's sons had come up with some hundreds of Lancashire gentlemen, and were eager for any desperate enterprise. Young Talbot had arranged a plan for the simultaneous escape of the Queen of Scots; relays of horses were provided, and a ship was in readiness at Liverpool to carry her to the Isle of Man till the struggle in England should be over.[2] Nothing, however, could be done without Norfolk,

[1] Confession of the Bishop of Ross, October, 1571: MURDIN. Barker's Confession: Ibid.

[2] Several projects had been formed to get her out of Sheffield, some details of which were discovered by the Earl of Morton on his way back to Scotland. "She would feign herself ill for two or three days and then be taken downstairs to see the dancing." She was to dance herself, affect to faint, and be carried to her room. One of her women, dressed

and Norfolk was one of those unlucky conspirators who wait

badness of his cause. He knew too well the nature of the woman

"Italian devices;" "he would attempt nothing till he got answer from the princes beyond the seas." [2]

Thus the occasion passed, and Parliament opened in peace, the Protestant party being strengthened in the Upper House by the presence of the queen's cousin, lately created Lord Buckhurst,

the sixty-one, Lord Cumberland and Lord Bath were under age. Norfolk was not allowed to sit, and to compensate for his absence Hertford was excluded also. Lord Derby was ill, and could not come up, and Shrewsbury could not leave his charge. Eight others were absent for various reasons, and seven of the twenty-two bishops. The Upper House was therefore composed of sixty-two members in all The bishops were to a man under Cecil's direction, and their united vote, including the proxies, could always be depended upon. Seven of the absent peers gave their proxies to Leicester, and Leicester would not go over to the Catholics till he saw that they were certain to succeed. So far, therefore, the prospects of the government were favourable.

like her, would take her place on the bed, while she, in the disguise of a page, would escape from a postern. If this failed, she was to go hunting,

Lord Arundel, with the Ridolfi revolution in front of him, wa unlikely to try the experiment, under such circumstances, of parliamentary conflict.

The proceedings commenced, as usual, with a speech fror the lord keeper. It was long, but contained little beyond a encomium on the queen's government, and an intimation tha through "the raging Romanist rebels," the queen had incurre extraordinary expenses in defence of the kingdom, and require money. She had reduced her personal outlay, cutting off a needless luxuries and extravagancies, to avoid being a burde to her people; but the peace of the realm had been disturbe both at home and in Ireland. The malice of the time oblige her to keep a fleet upon the seas for the protection of commerc The state of parties in Scotland required the presence of a larg force upon the border, and with the utmost economy she wa unable to meet the demands upon her. This, with two shor paragraphs on a revision of the laws, was all, in substance, whic Bacon said. The succession, the excommunication, the queen' marriage—the subjects which really occupied all men's minds— were passed over in silence. A reform in the discipline of th Church was admitted to be necessary, but a wish was pointedl expressed that it should be left to the bishops.

Had the Parliament confined themselves to the programm thus marked out for them, the session would have passed ove quietly. So long as no attempt was made to cut the Queen o Scots off from the succession, the Peers would have been conten to wait to assert her claims after the arrival of Alva; and th Commons were intended to restrict themselves to voting th supplies.

The Commons, however, were in no humour to be thus easil managed. The ultra Protestants proved to be in an enormou majority. The rebellion of the north, and the general necessit of things, had developed largely and freely the Puritan spirit o the towns; and the Catholic reaction in the country districts the loose administration of the laws, and the notoriousl Romanising tendencies of the peers and country families, acted a a challenge to the fiercer of the Reformers to try their strengt with them. For ten years past there had been an earnest desir in the Reforming leaders to inflict the Thirty-nine Articles bot on clergy and laity as a test of doctrine, to reform the Prayer book, and impose on England generally the Genevan disciplin As a step in this direction, on the first day on which the House met for business, a Bill was introduced to compel all persons, o

whatever degree, not only to attend service on Sundays at church, but to be present twice a-year at the communion.

The tongues of men, finding themselves unloosed at last, ran over at once with a violence unprecedented in House of Commons history. Complaints burst out of the laxity with which the [illegible]

[illegible]

land, "a grave and antient man," declared that "known Papists were admitted to have ecclesiastical government and great livings, while godly Protestants had nothing," and "boys were dispensed with to have spiritual promotion." God, he said, had given England the light of the Word, but England had been slack in making use of its advantages, and had not thought convenient to profess and publish the truth openly. He moved for a reproduction of Cranmer's book on the Reformation of the Laws, that the country might take its place at last among the Reformed nations, with a clear confession of its faith.

Free speech in Parliament had been one of the privileges which Henry VIII. had not attempted to interfere with. Elizabeth could never bring herself to regard it as anything but an intolerable impertinence. Sir Thomas Smith, who had succeeded Cecil as her secretary, proposed that the Communion Bill should be referred to the bishops, the queen sent a message to the House not to waste their time over matters which did not concern them, and "to avoid long speeches"

Fleetwood, however (afterwards the Recorder of London), said that the House "knew that there was a God to be served as well as the bishops," "when Bills were referred to the bench, they commonly came to nothing," "the bishops would perhaps be slow," and they could do better without them

The queen's monition was unheeded, and the discussion went on more fiercely than ever Mr Snagg insisted on the insufficiency of the Act of Uniformity. In some churches the Common Prayer was not used at all. There was only a sermon, and such prayers, extempore, as the minister might choose to offer. Mr. Norton broke into invectives on the abuse "of benefit of clergy," "the straining of the law by ecclesiastical judges in favour of offenders in Holy Orders," "the wrapping clerks in a cloak of naughtiness, and giving them liberty to sin." The dispensa-

tions in the Court of Arches were attacked specially and bitterly. Bishops, it was presumed, "could do nothing contrary to the Word of God," yet, like popes, they kept open offices for the sale of licences to disobey the law.

So the storm broke on all sides, and for three weeks it raged incessantly. Some language was heard not wholly immoderate. Aglionby, the member for Warwick, raised his solitary voice for liberty of conscience. "He did not approve," he said, "of the private oratories in the great houses; he would give the rich no privileges which the poor could not share, and both alike should be obliged to appear in their parish church. But receiving the communion was something more than an ordinary outward observance, and he thought that the law ought not to meddle with it. Men were excommunicated because they were wicked, but to force men to communicate because they were suspected of being wicked was an anomaly beyond reason or precedent." But Aglionby was briefly told that the peace of the realm was of more importance than conscience. The Israelites were not allowed to refuse to eat the Passover, and the makers of laws were not called upon to respect the obstinacy of fools and knaves. It was enough if what Parliament prescribed was right in itself, and if the people were unfit to obey, they must make themselves fit.

Two of the officers of the household attempted to bring back the debate to the subjects mentioned in the speech. The Parliament, Sir James Crofts said, had met on business of immediate and serious moment; the queen, being head of the Church, might be trusted to do what was right, and the hasty proceedings of the House of Commons, "before and contrary to the law, might rather hinder than help." But Crofts was suspected to be a concealed Catholic; a Mr. Pistor, a Puritan, brief and stern, and "much approved by the House," complained rather of the waste of time over mere secular business, when the cause of God was in danger; subsidies, crowns, realms, what were these, he said, but dust and ashes. It was written, "Seek first the kingdom of God."

Whatever may have been Elizabeth's private feelings when she found herself thus defied, she showed outwardly remarkable self-command. She knew and valued the men who were thus provoking her, and she forced herself to bear with them. Strickland fell under his displeasure. He introduced a measure without permission for the alteration of the Prayer-book, and he was sent for, reprimanded, and forbidden to return to the

House. But a universal cry of privilege warned her to be cautious, and she withdrew her prohibition. The Commons persisted, passing measure after measure—the Bill for attendance at Communion, of which no draft remains to indicate the provisions of it; a Bill, which has also perished, restricting or abolishing the dispensing power of the Court of Arches; and a Bill which unfortunately did not share the fate of its companions, and made its way to the statute-book to trouble the peace of broader times. Convocation, nine years before, had reimposed upon the clergy, so far as they had power to legislate, the too celebrated Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. The Parliament had then refused their sanction to a measure which went far beyond the most extravagant pretensions of the Church of Rome in laying a yoke upon the conscience. But their moderation forsook them now. The heavy chains descended. The faith of England, which, but for this fatal step, might have expanded with the growth of the nation, was hardened into unchanging formulas, and intellect was condemned to make its further progress unsanctified by religion, the enemy of the Church instead of being its handmaid.[1]

A Bill became law also to check the profligate administration of Church property by ecclesiastical corporations,[2] and a companion measure was introduced, originally perhaps as part of the same statute, so singular in some of its provisions as to deserve particular notice Puritanism had not yet blinded the eyes of Protestants to the merits of the faith of their fathers; the House of Commons could still acknowledge an excellence in the clergy of earlier times, to which they saw but faint approaches in the degenerate ministry which had taken the place of the Catholic priests

"The queen's noble progenitors," so ran an Act which never reached maturity, "had in times past endowed the clergy of the realm with most ample and large possessions, that godly religion might be the better advanced among the people, that the poor might be relieved, the children of the nobility and gentlemen of the realm be virtuously educated in the fear and knowledge of the Almighty Whether the revenues of these estates were now employed and bestowed according to the intent and meaning of their donors, was a thing to be pondered and considered. The clergy being now married and having wives, did overmuch alienate their minds from the honest and careful duty to which they were bound to attend. The poor

[1] 13 Elizabeth, cap. xii. [2] 13 Elizabeth, cap. x.

were left in their poverty. The ancient hospitality was no longer maintained. The ministers of the Church accepted and reserved the most part and portion of the yearly revenues of their dignities unto themselves, to the slander of the whole estate of the clergy." The remedy was not to return to the old law of celibacy, and it was admitted that ecclesiastics, if they brought children into the world, ought to provide for them; yet, so great a change could not be passed over without the expression of an opinion that it was no matter for entire satisfaction. The framers of the Bill desired to intimate that archbishops and bishops, deans and provosts of colleges, ought to maintain their households on the old and generous scale; and for the necessary evils, their wives, those ladies should consider that they were the companions of learned men who had charge and care of the whole realm as concerning the doctrine of faith and good examples of life: it was their duty therefore, as sad and discreet matrons, to bestow their time in devout and godly exercises, prayers, almsdeeds, ministering to the poor, with such like works of charity. They ought not, as was now far otherwise reported to be, much to the blemishing of their good name, to intrude and press themselves into the worldly affairs of any such state and government.[1]

One after another these measures went up to the House of Lords. The queen interfered once more. On the 1st of May she sent a message to the Commons, that Church questions belonged to herself, and that they had no business with them. But they took no notice; she required money, and she let them go their own way till the subsidy was voted.

To the Peers, the Communion Bill was most unwelcome. They knew it to be aimed at themselves, and deputations of Catholic noblemen waited on the queen to remonstrate. Troubled as she was with her Anjou marriage, and intending if necessary to escape out of it through her Protestant orthodoxy, Elizabeth did not care to commit herself too positively on the Catholic side. A committee of the two Houses sat to consider if it could be remodelled; but the one supremely unpalatable condition could not be shaken off; the undivided phalanx of the twenty-two prelates never failing, who turned the scale in every division.

One Catholic nobleman said tauntingly, that if the right reverend lords could agree among themselves as to what they required the laity to receive in the Sacrament, they might get over their objections; at present every parish had its own

[1] Act for the Bishops and Clergy, 1571: *MSS. Domestic, Rolls House.*

theory on the matter; and being charged as they were with the custody of their own souls, the peers as well as others had a right to their own opinions.[1]

Burghley, however, lent his great weight to put down the opposition. "The quiet of the realm," he said, "required that the measure should be passed. Liberty of conscience was generally good, but after the step which the pope had chosen to take, religion had been made a question of allegiance. The state was in danger, and the queen's throne had been made insecure." [2]

The Bill passed, and waited only for the queen's consent. In and out among these debates, other business went forward of no little moment; but of more importance than any one of the special measures brought forward were these signs of the humour of the Commons. The heart of Protestant England was alive; a deep earnest fear of God was spreading in the middle classes, on the Jewish rather than on the Christian model; a recognition of a divine sovereignty, which it was their business, in spite of knight or noble, to see recognised and obeyed upon earth. With a better cause and a lady worthy of their devotion, the Catholics might still have won, but Kirk-a-Field and the Bothwell marriage were worth a legion of angels to English Protestantism.

Of thirty-nine other Acts which passed before the session ended, the following were specially noticeable. It was tacitly understood that Mary Stuart's name was not to be mentioned, but a Bill was introduced, which in its original form would have cut her off from the succession as effectually as if she had been directly designated. The excommunication had made it necessary to shield the queen with more stringent laws, and to re-enact in a modified form the repealed statutes of Henry VIII. It was proposed that "to affirm, by word or writing, that the queen was not queen, or that any other person ought to be queen, or that the queen was a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown," though not followed by any overt act, should be high treason. Any person, who during the queen's life should lay claim to the crown, or that had already laid claim to the crown, or should not, on demand, acknowledge [illegible]

[1] La Mothe Fénelon, May 18: *Dépêches*, vol. iv.
[2] Ibid, May 13

person; or to deny the power of Parliament to order the succession; and "to avoid contention of titles," no person except the queen's children, or not otherwise specially named and chosen by Parliament, was to be regarded or spoken of as heir to the throne, under penalties of forfeiture and outlawry.[1]

Some measure of this kind the Catholics in Parliament could not refuse to pass without open confession of disloyalty; all that they could reasonably attempt was to blunt the personal application of it. The Bill was thrown like a shuttlecock from House to House, and from committee to committee. The Queen of Scots was in the mind of all and in the mouths of none. The Protestants were struggling to extinguish her and her pretensions, the Catholics to shield her without prematurely declaring their intended treason.

The argument on one side was that it was unjust to make the Act retrospective; on the other, "that where ambition to a crown had once entered, such was its nature that it could never be satisfied." Sir Francis Knollys informed the Commons, that the words, "had already laid claim," were carefully considered by the council before the Bill was introduced, "and were more than requisite, yea, more than convenient." "To stay or prevent devices past he thought it but honest policy." Another bold speaker said that "to pretend the queen was not queen might fairly be called treason, but to make it treason to call her heretic, infidel, or schismatic, was unreasonable. Catholics necessarily considered her a heretic, unless they confessed themselves to be heretics, or unless her majesty, as some people thought, was at heart a Catholic herself; there were those who said the established doctrines were her councillors' but not her own; and if the words to which he objected were allowed to stand, he would introduce another, and vote it treason to call her infidel, Papist, or heretic."

Elizabeth's wishes in the matter appear nowhere, except as they may be supposed to have been represented by Knollys; and Knollys himself had more than once lamented that Elizabeth did not always think with her council. She liked to be able to tell foreign ambassadors that she disapproved of Cecil, that she valued and loved the Catholics, that she had not interfered and would not interfere with the prospective claims of Mary Stuart on the crown. In the end each side yielded something. The Act passed, but the contemplated offences were made to date from thirty days after the close of the Parliament,

[1] 13 Elizabeth, cap. i.

and if Ridolfi made good speed, it would be a dead letter, or would recoil upon Elizabeth. Past pretensions and past acts were to be forgotten, and a power was reserved only to demand of any known pretender whether he or she would for the future admit the queen to be a lawful sovereign. Then, but only then, if the answer was disloyal, the right, whatever it might be, was to be held forfeited.

Other clauses provided that prosecutions should be instituted [illegible] made prospective only; and three months' grace was allowed to persons who had papal bulls in their possession or had been converted, to make confession to their diocesan and be pardoned.[1]

Besides the exiles who had been in rebellion, many gentlemen had followed or anticipated the example of Lord Morley, and had withdrawn to the Continent. The law of England forbade subjects to reside abroad without leave from the crown, and they had evaded it by conveying their lands in trust to relatives, through whom their rents were sent across to them. Conveyances of this kind were declared to be void, and the crown was empowered to take possession of the estates of all persons who after sufficient notice refused to return. But a distinction was introduced between those who were hatching treason and those who were influenced by "blind zeal;" and the Peers carried a special clause in favour of their own order. A peer at any time that he pleased to make his submission might recover his property.[2]

An Act of Attainder was carried against Westmoreland, Northumberland, and their companions. Their estates became the crown's, to be sold or disposed of as the queen might please; and the dispute with the Bishop of Durham, which the lawyers had left after all undetermined, was disposed of by an intimation that, except for the exertions of the crown, the bishop would have been swept out of existence, and had therefore no claim upon the forfeitures.[3]

[1] 13 Elizabeth, cap. ii.
[2] 13 Elizabeth, cap. iii.
[3] 13 Elizabeth, cap. xvi.

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Other clauses provided that prosecutions should be instituted in all cases within six months of the alleged offences, and that witnesses should be brought face to face with the accused.

Two further measures were modified in the same spirit. The

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[1] 13 Elizabeth, cap. ii.
[2] 13 Elizabeth, cap iii.
[3] 13 Elizabeth, cap xvi.

thus on all sides, taken by surprise and without time to raise a force for her defence, Elizabeth would be taken in a net. The Catholic religion would be restored from the Orkneys to the Land's End, and the Queen of Scots, as sovereign of the whole island, would dispose as she pleased of the life and person of her oppressor.

In such rhetorical fashion Ridolfi prearranged the campaign. Doubtless there were elements of hope in what he said, and the conquest of England was of supreme importance for the security of the Netherlands; but the silent duke formed no favourable opinion of the messenger, whatever attention he might pay to the message itself. He knew England too well to believe that the enterprise would be so easy. He had learnt something of the toughness of Protestantism; he had a solid respect for established governments, with a distrust equally deep of noisy explosive insurrections. Ridolfi too could not hold his tongue. He was so vain of the part which he was playing that he told his secrets to Chapin Vitelli and the Spanish generals. He struck Alva as too great a fool to have been trusted on a serious errand of such magnitude, and he half doubted whether his professed character might not be his real one, and whether he was more than a spy of Cecil's.

The letters of which he was the bearer, however, were genuine; the Queen of Scots' pretensions were a reality; and were Elizabeth out of the way, something indisputably might be made of them. Were Elizabeth out of the way—this on reflection seemed to Alva to be the hinge of the matter; but the step which he contemplated was not to be risked on his undivided responsibility, and to Philip, therefore, he proceeded to state at length his private opinion. After sketching generally Ridolfi's proposals, he continued thus:—

"I replied that what Ridolfi suggested was full of danger; the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland had tried an insurrection and had failed, and the Duke of Norfolk, who was to have joined them, was still in partial confinement. Ridolfi assured me that Norfolk could leave his house when he pleased, and that the Catholics would not fail a second time if the pope

cierta, *porque assi la promete quien la tiene en guarda* [underlined in the original], llevantandose un ejercito de la parte de Norfolk y por opposito de la parte hacia el Canal de Irlanda, llevantandose todo el pays del Conde de Derby que confina con la Wallia y son todos Catolicos: succede desto que á la Reyna Isabel se le cierra el paso de poder ir á hacer daño á la dicha Reyna de Escocia."—*MS.* endorsed de Roberto Ridolfi. April, 1571: *Simancas.*

and one or other of the great powers would help them. He showed me a list of the confederates, and he mentioned July or August as the time when the enterprise would be most easy. I asked him what they would do if the queen married the Duke of Anjou. He said that the queen was trifling as usual. She would never marry unless she was forced into it, and if it became at all likely, the duke and the other noblemen would interfere.[1]

"I then talked over the matter with the council of state. To Ridolfi—his commission not being addressed immediately to me—I said merely that he might assure the Duke of Norfolk and the Queen of Scots of your majesty's goodwill to both of them; and if the duke was really a Catholic, and the Queen of [illegible]

[illegible]

what is going on she will have a fair excuse to execute them both. I have desired Don Juan to tell his holiness that he may rely upon your majesty, but that he must submit to your majesty's decision whatever it be and that he must leave the execution of the enterprise to those who are to act in it.

"His holiness sent some one here a while ago to press these English matters upon me. I said then that he ought not to

[1] Yet Norfolk and his friends at this very time were assuring La Mothe Fénelon that there was nothing which they desired more than this marriage.

[2] "Ledict Duc," La Mothe wrote on the 2nd of May, "parceque je luy avois desja faict quelque communication de ce propos avec asseurance de la volonte de Voz Majestez vers luy et la Royne d'Escoce, m'a envoyé dire qu'il se sentoit tres obligé a Voz Majestez de la consideration qu'il vous playsoit avoir d'eux deux en ceste affaire, auquel il m'avoit desjà faict declaration de son cœur qu'il se delibéroit avec toutz ses amys de s'y employer droictement car se reputoit tout d'estre vostre serviteur et que monsieur vostre filz ne doubtast plus qu'il ne feust obey revere et aymé en ce Royaulme, et a escript a l'Evesque de Ross qu'il me voulut ayder de toutz ses moyens et intelligences en ceste cause, car il cognoissoit qu'il estoit besoing d'avancer icy la reputation de la France pour bien faire les affaires de la Royne d'Escoce. Milord de Lumley, pour gaiges dela volunté du Comte d'Arundel son beau-pere, du Comte de Worcester et de luy en cest endroict, m'a envoye une bague, et m'a mande que si je le trouvois bon, ilz s'employeroient de bon cœur et y procederoient par effectz."—La Mothe a la Royne, May 2: *Depêches*, vol. iv. To cover [illegible]

[illegible]

Ridolfi wrote to the Bishop of Ross, and with singular imprudence when one letter would have answered his purpose, he enclosed others containing the same dangerous secret to the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Lumley. Each of the three was in cipher, but either by accident or further carelessness he sent the key with them on a separate sheet, and the only precaution which he observed was to cipher the addresses of the two noblemen, in figures which had been arranged with the bishop while he was in England.[1]

With this perilous addition to his burden Charles Baily sailed for Dover. There were spies everywhere and on every one. He had no sooner set foot on shore than a hint was given to an officer to search his baggage; the letters and books were found, and he and they were sent under guard to Lord Cobham, the Warden of the Cinque Ports, who was in London for the session.

Cobham's house was in Blackfriars. While the prisoner was being taken thither, intimation was sent to the Bishop of Ross that a person had been arrested with some mysterious papers enclosed under cover to himself; and the bishop, not knowing his precise danger, but feeling only the possibility of a tremendous discovery, first thought of throwing himself upon La Mothe, telling him as much as he dared, and asking him to claim the enclosures as his own. On reflection it seemed better to trust to Cobham himself, whose name was in Ridolfi's list, and to wait to see what Cobham would do.[2]

It was the evening of the 10th of April, when the Commons were in full discussion of the Communion Bill. Baily, when brought before the warden, was again searched. The alphabet of the ciphers was found wadded in his coat at the hollow of his back; the books were manifestly dangerous; and according to his own story, which must be received with suspicion, Lord Cobham was preparing to discharge his natural duty and lay what he had discovered before the council. His brother Thomas Cobham, however, who had escaped hanging for his atrocities in the Bay of Biscay and had taken now to conspiracy and Catholicism, happened to be in the room; the prisoner contrived to let him know by signs that the letters were of consequence; and young Cobham, taking the warden apart, "threw himself in tears at his feet," and told him that if the packet was taken to the council the Duke of Norfolk was a dead man. Lord Cobham said that at first he refused to listen. He put the letters

[1] The letters to Lumley and Norfolk were addressed to 30 and 40.
[2] Confession of the Bishop of Ross, October, November, 1571: MURDIN.

in his pocket, and with the books and other papers in a box he [illegible]

the warden knew that he would be called upon to account for it. He could but give the bishop a few hours to do the best that he could.

The bishop, with the packet in his hands, instantly possessed himself of the dangerous letters, and then, creeping across in the darkness to Don Guerau, he composed, with the ambassador's assistance, another set of ciphered papers sufficiently tinctured with disloyal matter to satisfy Cecil's suspicions, while all that touched the real secret was kept out of sight. A copy of the bull of excommunication was introduced; an old letter from Mary Stuart to Don Guerau, another to Mary Stuart herself from an Italian in the Netherlands, and two from some one else to the French ambassador. The malcontent tone which characterised the Queen of Scots' secret correspondence was carefully preserved; one or more of the letters were written in the cipher which Charles Baily had brought over, and the bishop detained the key, intending to produce it with affected reluctance when it was asked for. Norfolk's and Lumley's letters were then conveyed to their address, and the bishop, in the belief that he had done the work effectually, ventured to write himself to Burghley to say that a packet of letters had been brought over for him by one of his servants, that the servant had been arrested, and the letters detained. He trusted that Burghley would assist in recovering them for him. He did not know what the letters might contain, but if they came to his hands no one of them should be used except as Burghley should think good.[2]

It was a dexterous performance—perhaps too dexterous—especially the last stroke of it. Cecil was better informed of what was passing underground than the bishop supposed. The capture of Story was but one instance of the adroitness of his agents on the Continent. His spies, in the disguise of refugees, were to be met with at the Earl of Westmoreland's dinner-table,

[1] Notes of Lord Cobham's confession, in Cecil's hand, taken October 14: *MSS. Domestic, Rolls House.*
[2] The Bishop of Ross to Lord Burghley, April 12: *MSS.* Mary Queen of Scots.

might be brought to use Herle as his secretary, and trust him with the ciphers, or that Herle might otherwise catch him with some skilful question. The doors of the sleeping cells in the prison were left occasionally unlocked. One night, in the small hours, the spy stole out of his bed and crept to Baily's side. He woke him, and whispered that he had a letter for him from the Bishop of Ross, which he had concealed and could not find till daylight; but the bishop, he said, wanted, meanwhile, to know whether the council had examined him about the books which he had brought over, or if they had questioned him about his dealings with the refugees. The two points were ill selected, for Baily, in the ciphered letters, had given the bishop full information on both of them. Herle heard his teeth chatter in the dark, and felt the bed tremble. "What!" he said, "had not my lord his letters, then, wherein I answered Yes?" He felt that he was betrayed, and not a word more could be extracted *out of him, only cold answers, and assertions that he knew nothing* of refugees.[1] The next morning, the forlorn creature attempted to warn the bishop that Herle was false.[2] This note also was intercepted, and being not in cipher, showed Burghley that if he wanted more information he must try other means. Baily was removed from the Marshalsea to the Tower, where he was confined "in a cave" "rheumatic and unsavoury," foul with the uncleansed memorials of generations of wretches who had preceded him there, "without a bed," and "with only a little straw on the moist earth-floor to lie upon;" the wardens answering to his complaints that "they provided prisoners only with place and room;" "beds and other necessities" they must obtain from their friends.[3]

But this was not the worst. Burghley meant to make Baily speak, and to use whatever means might be necessary to break his spirit. He sent for him, laid his ciphered letters to the Bishop of Ross before him, and required him to read them. He said he could not, and pretended that he had lost the alphabet. Burghley sternly told him that he was lying, and that if he would not confess he should be tortured.[4] It was no idle threat. From his cave, to which he was remanded, he once more sent a few words to the Bishop of Ross. He implored the bishop to save him from La Gehenne, or he was "lost for ever." The bishop

[1] Herle to Burghley, April 24.
[2] Charles Baily to the Bishop of Ross, April 25 (evening). Misdated by Murdin, April 22.
[3] Charles Baily to the Bishop of Ross, April 26: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.
[4] Baily to the Bishop of Ross, April 29: MURDIN.

rushed to the council, claimed Baily as his servant, and insisted on his privilege as ambassador. Finding no comfort there, he let fall, when he returned to his house, a passionate expression "that those who lived a month would see strange changes." To keep up Baily's spirits he sent him a note to entreat him to be firm, to bid him "comfort himself in God, and remember the noble heroes who had suffered death rather than betray their masters."[1] The treacherous messenger carried the paper, and the report of the bishop's words to Cecil, and the following brief order was sent to Sir William Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower:—

"You and Edmund Tremayne[2] are to examine Charles Baily concerning certain letters written by him in cipher from the Marshalsea to the Bishop of Ross. You will ask him for the alphabet of the cipher, and if he shall refuse to show the said alphabet, or to declare truly the contents of the said letters in cipher, you shall put him upon the rack; and by discretion with putting him in fear, and as cause shall be given afterwards, you shall procure him to confess the truth with some pain of the said torture."[3]

A few hours later Baily was seen staggering back to his dungeon "scarce able to go," "discoloured and pale as ashes."[4] He had told nothing, so far; but the experiment was to be tried again more severely, and he was left in the darkness to reflect on what was before him.

One more ingenious refinement was yet behind. Doctor Story was still in the Tower waiting for execution. It had been ascertained that Baily was unacquainted with Story's person, though he regarded him, like the Catholics generally, as a confessor and a saint. There appeared one night by the side of the straw heap on which Baily lay extended, the figure of a man who said that he was Story himself, admitted into the cell by the kindness of a gaoler, to console him in his sufferings. The deceit could be successfully maintained, for the counterfeit was Parker, the treacherous friend who had betrayed Story in Flanders.

[illegible]

seriously hurt.

"Con haber tomado á aquel criado del Obispo de Ross y ver las cartas con cifra, le han dado tormento aunque no muy recio y esta en la Torre"—Don Guerau to Philip, May 9: *MSS. Simancas.*

In the character of a ghostly father, and an experienced conspirator, Parker recommended Baily to dig below Burghley's mines. He persuaded him that so much was already discovered that it was useless to persist in complete denial. By deciphering his own letters he told him that he would gain credit with Burghley, while he would leave him no wiser than he was already. He might offer to be a spy upon the Bishop of Ross, while in fact he would be a spy upon the government, and would serve the cause of the Queen of Scots more effectually than ever.[1]

Too happy to escape a repetition of La Gehenne under so high a sanction, the victim of this singular network of deceit fell at last into the pit which was laid before him. He gave up the keys of the cipher, which revealed at once the story of the abstracted packet, with the existence of other letters addressed to unknown persons which had missed his hands; and Burghley must have smiled as he read the passionate promises of Baily before his experience of the rack, that "the council should get nothing from him though he was torn in pieces." He confessed now to all that he knew. He could not tell who the persons were for whom he had brought over the letters because they were under cover to the Bishop of Ross; but he gave a sketch of the conversation which had passed between Ridolfi and Alva, so far as Ridolfi had communicated it to himself; he described the intended landing of the Spaniards in the eastern counties, and with many entreaties to Burghley that he would keep this secret and save his honour, he undertook, if he was allowed to return into the Bishop of Ross's service, to watch his correspondence and keep copies of all letters written by or to him.[2]

Yet he was still but half false, and Parker had prepared Burghley to understand the meaning of this base offer. Baily was left in the Tower, to find himself, to his surprise, in no better favour with Cecil, and reproached as a coward by his old friends. He could but excuse himself to Don Guerau, by saying that Cecil knew already more about Ridolfi than he had himself admitted;

[1] Baily in writing afterwards to Don Guerau to say what he had confessed, adds innocently, "He hecho todo lo que he dicho por consejo y exhortacion del Doctor Story que ha visto como he sido tratado, y estaba avisado de la manera que determinan de tratarme."—Charles Baily to Don Guerau, May 10: *MSS. Simancas.*

Four months after we find him answering at another examination "that his memory was so troubled with his long imprisonment and the trouble which he had with Parker feigning himself Doctor Story, and other such matters as he told him, that he was not able to write ten words together."—*MSS. Hatfield*, September 19.

[2] Charles Baily to Burghley, May 2: MURDIN.

and that except for what Doctor Story had told him, he would have suffered death rather than have confessed a single thing.[1]

The Bishop of Ross, meanwhile, sick with fears that Baily would confess under the rack, had taken to his bed. He ate nothing for three days, and lay barricaded in his house, having given orders to his porter to admit no one to him. He could tell secrets which Baily could not, and the question now with Cecil was how to extract them from him. Herle's services were again therefore put in requisition. The warning against him which had been sent by Baily having been intercepted, the bishop,

[illegible]

torture. In this seeming extremity he wrote to the bishop to implore his prayers, and his advice He desired, as he told Burghley, "to beget some kind of second trust in the bishop," and he swore that no extremity should force him to reveal anything. Appealed to thus earnestly, the bishop sent a friend to the Marshalsea, who found Herle "plunged into the depths of wretchedness, and lamenting that he was regarded with mistrust." He complained of Baily, "uttering his speech," as he triumphantly described it, "in such piteous forms, his irons

[illegible] wept and

[illegible], he wrote

[illegible]il and the

hammer; but whatever was thought of him, his right hand should play Mucius's part before he would break his faith;" "they should rather rend his poor carcase than he would betray the least tittle of what had passed," "he spoke it with sorrow of mind, and he would seal it with his blood," "esteeming no torment greater than unjust jealousy conceived of a true friend." With mild reproaches for the discouraging of his honest service, he said that he looked for consolation at his lordship's hand, protesting, "that for any that would maintain he was dealing otherwise than honestly, he would make them liars in their throats."[3]

[1] Charles Baily to Don Guerau, May 10: *MSS Simancas.*
[2] Herle to Burghley, April 29. *MSS* QUEEN OF SCOTS
[3] Herle to the Bishop of Ross, April 29: Ibid.

several stories taught him to distrust them all, and he found other means, as will be seen, more successful to find the bottom of the conspiracy. The Bishop of Ross was left in imprisonment. Mary Stuart was placed under stricter guard; her servants were locked out of her apartments at night, and only allowed to return to her after daybreak. The real Story, the farce having been played out in the Tower, was hanged. Don Guerau claimed him as a subject of Philip. Elizabeth answered that

tive upon Elizabeth to come to a distinct resolution upon her proposed marriage with the Duke of Anjou. The more it was pressed upon her, the more she hated the thought of it. The mocking world outside believed that she was only trifling; yet among her many changes, her own ministers were unable to discover her real wishes.

Here too, as in so many other matters, the historian finds himself staggering among quicksands of falsehood. Burghley and Walsingham alone are to be depended upon as saying what they meant. Some points, however, can be made out with an approach to certainty.

Both the principals first of all detested the marriage in itself, although the force of the political reasons in its favour was felt by each of them. Elizabeth herself believed that when the duke found himself the husband of "an ugly old woman," he

ave him a

en marry

moments repeated his suspicions of Elizabeth's character, and when there seemed to be a hope that the objections would be found insuperable did not conceal his delight.[4]

[1] Shrewsbury to Burghley, May 18: *MSS* QUEEN OF SCOTS

[2] La Mothe, June 9: *Dépêches*, vol. IV.

[3] La Mothe, May 2: Ibid.

[4] Speaking to a lady one day about the marriage, he said, "La Reyna mi madre muestra tener pena de que esta desbaratado mi casamiento, y

The position so far was not a hopeful one, but the interests at stake were so tremendous, and the pressure exerted upon both queen and prince was so heavy, that Anjou was ready to yield, and Elizabeth at times persuaded others if not herself that she might yield also. In France the fortunes of the Huguenots were supposed to depend upon the marriage. It was no hopeful sign for them that their prospects could turn upon so poor a contingency, but so they judged themselves of their own situation. The marriage was to be the keystone of a policy. If the support of England could be secured to France in a war with Spain, the jealousies of Catholics and Protestants would be superseded by a revival of the old temper of Francis and Henry. Catherine de Medici hated the Protestants, but she hated Spain more. With Elizabeth for an ally she could revenge St. Quentin and extend the French frontier to the Rhine.

On the side of England the advance of the Reformation had been connected at every stage of its progress with an approach to France. The divorce of Catherine of Arragon broke up the ancient European combinations. Henry VIII. became the friend of Francis. Edward was to have married a French princess: a French king had befriended the English Reformers during the Marian persecution, and in the face of the late discoveries, Elizabeth's condition appeared so "desperate" to Walsingham and Burghley, that they were ready for their own part to agree to any terms "rather than the matter should quail." Walsingham especially "challenged to himself no great judgment, but he said that if it proceeded not, he saw at hand the ruin of England;" [1] and he told Catherine that the duke "would be welcome there as a Temporal Messias to save them from the mischief of the civil sword." [2] Some hundreds of letters about it were exchanged during the spring between the French and English ambassadors and their courts and sovereigns. The perusal of them leaves an impression that everything turned upon Elizabeth herself. Could the French court have been satisfied that when the conditions on both sides had been drawn out and agreed to, Elizabeth would have then honestly completed the marriage, she could have asked nothing to which they would not have consented: without that preliminary

yo estoy el mas contento hombre del mundo, de haber escapado de casar con una puta publica."—Don Francis de Alava to Philip, May 11: TEULET, vol. v.

[1] Walsingham to Burghley, May 15: *MSS. France.*

[2] Walsingham to Burghley, June 21: Ibid.

with

d admitted the general arguments in favour of the marriage, but, exactly as she had done with the Archduke Charles, she had suddenly told Walsingham that Anjou could not be allowed to hear mass in England; and although neither Anjou nor his mother would have allowed such an objection to have stood in their way, could they have assured themselves that if they yielded the queen would be satisfied, they feared that it was merely an excuse, and that a fresh difficulty would be immediately raised. It was admitted on all sides that if he married Elizabeth Anjou's

with the English ambassador, "swore to him using God for witness," "that in his conscience he thought monsieur within a twelvemonth would be as forward to advance religion as any in England." Monsieur himself said, "that if England meant to proceed there was no fear that religion would prove a cause of breach;" and Walsingham concluded, "that if the match went forward it would set the triple crown quite aside." [1]

Yet that Anjou should formally bind himself never while in England to attend mass or confess to a priest, was a demand to which a French prince could not be expected to consent, while there was a doubt whether the uncertain object of his ambition

so lightly by his creed.

Thus on this point of religion sovereigns, ambassadors, ministers continued through the spring and summer to argue up and down. The French asked whether the Queen of England "wished monsieur to be an atheist that he should abandon his faith at a word for mere worldly advancement." Elizabeth in her usual formulas replied that in England faith and conscience were free; monsieur might believe what he pleased, but the

[1] Walsingham to Burghley, April 22 DIGGES Walsingham to Burghley, June 21: *MSS. France*

peace of the realm could not be disturbed by a licence to use a service forbidden by the law.

"Her son," Catherine answered, "would soon be overcome by the queen's persuasions;" the inconvenience at worst would be brief, for the Catholics everywhere felt "that the match would breed a change of religion throughout Europe."

Elizabeth rejoined that if the case was reversed, if she were going to France to marry monsieur, and if the exercise of her religion would create trouble there she would raise no difficulty on any such ground.[1] She hinted that if monsieur would yield in form she might relieve his conscience by a private permission. La Mothe reminded Catherine that many of the English nobles had mass in their houses, the queen shutting her eyes to it. The ambassador could accommodate monsieur at his chapel, or if the worst came to the worst he could cross the Channel now and then to Boulogne: Philip when he wished to be devout withdrew from Madrid to Segovia, and Boulogne was at least as easy of access from London; nay, as monsieur would not be called on to declare himself a Protestant, the pope might be brought to give a dispensation to secure a titular Catholic husband for the heretical queen.[2]

To the English ministers, on the other hand, the duke's request was so modest that it did not seem worth disputing; he asked only, like the archduke, to have a priest now and then privately in his closet; the people should neither see him nor hear of him, and in public he would appear in church with the queen. Cecil's Protestantism was above suspicion, and Cecil saw no reason to refuse so slight a favour.

It was but too obvious that the nominal obstacle was not the real one. The French government suggested that the religious question should stand over for a time, and that the other conditions of the marriage should be arranged first. Cecil, anxious to do anything that would help things forward, entered upon them with the queen. He met at first with the coldest discouragement. She clung convulsively to her objection; and when she was driven from it at last, with a desperate clutch at the next plank which was floating near her, she said that the first article should be "the restoration of Calais."

La Mothe exclaimed that it was plain now that she was

[1] "Que si elle avoit à aller en l'estat de mondict seigneur et que l'exercice de sa religion y deust apporter de trouble, qu'elle s'en passeroit."—La Mothe, May 10: *Dépêches*, vol. iv.
[2] *La Mothe, July 11:* Ibid.

trifling, and he gave an obscure intimation that France might [illegible]

[illegible]

mean only that she intended "to procure a break," and a break of the most dangerous kind.

The council unanimously entreated her "to forbear that toy of Calais," and generally again urged upon her the prosecution of the marriage as a matter of all others most necessary."[1] She listened, and as Burghley said, "seemed to intend it earnestly;" she told La Mothe that she was most anxious to bring the matters to a happy termination; but as fast as one obstacle was removed she raised another, and the situation was the more embarrassing because she had herself begun the negotiation. The French might naturally conclude that she had been amusing them with proposals which she had predetermined should end in nothing, merely to extricate herself from immediate embarrassments. Probably this was not the truth: with the present, as with all her marriage projects, she perhaps hoped and expected at first that she might be able to overcome her repugnance, and only found her resolution fail her when the moment came to decide. Even yet she could not face her own conclusion. She wrote to Catherine and she wrote to Anjou, not committing herself to anything positive, but repeating the general declarations which she had made to La Mothe;[2] but Burghley, who knew her thoroughly, saw where all was tending, and naturally dreaded the resentment which further trifling might provoke.

"Her majesty," he wrote to Walsingham "is not unwarned how dangerous it were, if in her default the matter taketh not success, and she seemeth to conceive thereof, and pretendeth that if the point of religion may be granted, there will be no other difficulty. But whether she is persuaded that therein the breach will be on that side, and so she to escape the reproof, I cannot tell. God direct the matter, for I have done my uttermost, and so hath other councillors. My lord keeper hath earnestly dealt in it, and so have others. This amity was needful to us, but God hath determined to plague us. The hour is at hand. His will be done with mercy."[3]

[1] [illegible] ES.
[2] [illegible]; Elizabeth to the Duke of Ar[illegible]
[3] [illegible]

Even Leicester had outwardly united with Burghley in recommending Elizabeth to yield;[1] and as Burghley had ascertained that Leicester had been the person who had at first urged her to stand out so peremptorily about religion, he had been at a loss to understand his conduct.[2] In public Leicester had appeared to go with the council so heartily, and he had spoken so warmly in private to La Mothe, that it was hard to doubt his sincerity. "Unless," wrote La Mothe, "he is altogether *sans foy*, he is with us." *Sans foy*, unfortunately, might have been the motto on Leicester's shield. While "the poor Huguenots" were telling Walsingham in tears that an affront from England would bring back the Guises, and end in a massacre of themselves, Leicester was working privately upon the queen, who was but too willing to listen to him, feeding her through the ladies of the bedchamber with stories that Anjou was infected with a loathsome disease, and assisting his Penelope to unravel at night the web which she had woven under Cecil's direction in the day.[3]

Anjou was growing impatient. "Religion would not have been the let." So anxious was Catherine for the marriage, that she was on the point of openly giving way about it; but the duke began to see that "he was one of the forsaken;" and "to yield in religion, and after to miss of their purpose, they thought would be a touch in honour."[4] The best that Walsingham could now hope to do was to secure his mistress an honourable retreat, and Anjou's own pride came opportunely to his assistance.

If the thing was not to be, religion was a fair excuse on both sides; and Anjou, in fear of ridicule, determined to save his credit with the Catholics by himself making the difference of creed an insurmountable objection. He began to talk largely of his conscience. He protested that he would not marry a heretic of questionable character. The clergy and the Cardinal of Lorraine encouraged his humour, and the English ambassador

[1] Burghley to Walsingham, July 9; DIGGES.

[2] "It was strange that any one man should give comfort to the ambassador in the cause, and yet the same man to persuade the queen's majesty that she should persist. Both these things are done, but I dare not affirm by any one."—Burghley to Walsingham, May 11: DIGGES. The allusion is evidently to Leicester.

[3] "El Conde de Leicester hace demostracion exteriormente de desear el casamiento de la Reyna de Inglaterra, mas por tercera mano hace lo contrario, habiendo hecho á entender á la Reyna por su hermana y otras mugeres que M. de Anjou estaba llagado de lepra."—*MS.* endorsed, Por cartas de Londres de Agosto 23: *Simancas.*

[4] Walsingham to Leicester, July 27: DIGGES.

now watched it growing with secret satisfaction. The queen-mother and Charles still hoped that Elizabeth could not break off. The king swore he would make those who had dared to interfere "shorter by the head;"[1] Catherine used all her arts with Anjou, and "never sobbed so much since the death of her husband;" and "monsieur himself retired to his cabinet and bestowed half a day in shedding tears" But "neither the king's threatening nor the queen-mother's persuading could draw him to proceed further." Mass or no mass, toleration or no toleration, he refused definitely to think any more of the marriage.[2]

Nothing could have happened more conveniently. Except for this fit of temper the rejection would have come from England, and Walsingham congratulated himself that "at least her majesty's honour could be saved, and she could be thought to have proceeded with sincerity." Elizabeth made a new danger for herself. As Anjou drew back, her scruples became less, and the peculiarity of her character enabled her to persuade even herself that she had been and still continued to be willing to accept him. Had it been so indeed, Anjou could doubtless have been whistled back to the lure. But further vacillation would have been deliberate suicide. Cecil was too happy that she was creditably extricated from a dangerous position, and however anxious he still admitted himself to be for the marriage, he showed her that it was absolutely necessary for her to make up her mind.

"Should she marry with France," he said in an elaborate paper which he laid before her, "many things evil digested and dangerous would, by God's providence, prove easy to be ordered —the perilous causes of the Scottish queen and Scotland, the discontent of a great number of her subjects upon sundry causes, the differences with Spain, the dangerous and unreasonable changes growing up in Ireland, and, generally, the uncertainty which obliged her to stand continually on her guard by sea and land. Her majesty believed that a league with France would [illegible] The league, no [illegible] ould last only [illegible] The danger [illegible] Scots would continue, and probably increase The dissatisfaction of her subjects would increase also, and with it the Queen of Scots'

[1] Walsingham to Cecil, July 30: *MSS. France*
[2] Walsingham to Cecil, July 27: Ibid.

In one sense she may well be pardoned for having declined to accept as her husband the miserable Henry de Valois, especially as to England no harm came from her refusal. Yet Elizabeth may not be credited with a deeper insight than Burghley's, and the moral worthlessness of the Duke of Anjou could not have formed the real objection to him in the mind of a woman who had been devoted so long and so deeply to such a wretch as Leicester. Had Anjou been a second St. Louis she would have acted in the same way; and possibly also, Walsingham and Burghley were right in believing that, had the marriage taken place, the course of European history would have been different, and the power of the Papacy have been rolled back in one broad wave across the Alps and Pyrenees

The queen having finally discovered that she was unequal to the sacrifice which was required of her, the next step was to secure the political alliance of France: and here, for a time, the success seemed considerable. The queen-mother flattered her-

at court. Count Louis, at the beginning of August, brought a petition from the Netherlands for help against Alva, and was graciously received He had tried Elizabeth first, but Elizabeth, fearing then t
upon herself, was ir
as Walsingham said
had received from
crowns, which Walsingham considered "would save the disbursing of 300,000; but they could not be obtained"—"God,"

ready to listen to him It was not now a question of money; he had come to lay the Low Countries at the feet of the French king, to ask him to assist in expelling the Spaniards, and to prevail on Elizabeth's unwillingness to induce her also to give help. In return, the provinces might be divided—Flanders and Haynault could be reunited to France; Brabant, Gelderland, and Luxemburg to Germany, while England might have Holland and the islands at the mouth of the Scheldt.

Could the marriage have been arranged, an aggressive league with this object would have unquestionably followed between

[1] Walsingham to Cecil, June 30: *MSS. France.*

England, France, and the German Protestant states; and a European revolution would have been the inevitable consequence. Without the marriage, it was doubtful whether either of the contracting powers would have sufficient confidence in the other to risk a breach with Spain. It had been the traditionary policy of English statesmen to embroil France with Spain, and to make their own market out of the discord of their rivals. Catherine de Medici naturally feared that Elizabeth would "leave her in the briars," or perhaps purchase back Spanish friendship by turning against her, unless Elizabeth had given securities for her good faith.

Nevertheless, it appeared on the surface as if Catherine and Charles were willing to venture the experiment. The king desired Walsingham to acquaint his mistress with Count Louis's proposal. "If she, being Lady of the Narrow Seas," would go along with him, Charles offered to take his share of the enterprise, and to make a league with England for the liberation of
the Netherlands. "It would be as much honour to Elizabeth,"
he said, "to unite Zealand to the English crown, as the loss o
Calais had been shame to her sister."[1] There was no reaso
to suppose Charles insincere. The admiral was invited to th
court. The ships of the Prince of Orange were entertained
Rochelle. When the Spaniards complained, the king repli
that the Prince of Orange was a prince of the empire, and cou
not be denied the use of the ports of France; Count Louis w
neither subject nor pensioner of Spain, and the Catholic k
should not think he could give laws to other countries than
own.[2] "The queen-mother," said Walsingham, "is incen
against Spain, being persuaded that her daughter was poison

The ambassador, however, was obliged to admit that his
expectations were not shared by every one.[3] France feared
England would go over to Spain. It was equally possible
the Catholics might recover their ascendency at the Lo
and England might be left to fight out, single-handed, a q
which it had entered at the side of France. To Cecil as w
to Catherine the failure of the marriage seemed fatal
aggressive policy. Zealand and Holland might become F

[1] Walsingham to Cecil, August 12: *MSS.* DIGGES.

[2] Ibid.

[3] "Some," he wrote, "do judge these things only to be col
to tend to some dangerous issue: but they that think so have no
jealousy for ground. The admiral himself believing that good n
of his access means to proceed, laying all fear aside, and to comm
to God's protection."—Walsingham to Cecil, August 12: *MSS.*

provinces, but they would probably be purchased by the loss of Ireland; it was folly to risk a kingdom in possession in seeking other countries by conquest;[1] and the loss of Ireland might prove, "in the end, the loss of all else," for Spain would then

costly."[3]

So thought Cecil, having lost heart from his mistress's inconstancy. If the French would be content with a defensive alliance, in which the German princes were comprehended, each power to assist the rest in case of invasion, that would be most welcome—but he feared that their disappointment would not incline them to so mild a policy. They would make a league if England would go along with them in a war of conquest Otherwise, it was too likely that they would change their front and fall back on Spain[4]

roused, and the Huguenots would be strong enough to prevent the desertion which Cecil anticipated. "Another dangerous sore," he said, "would be remedied also;" for France, in return for the alliance, would abandon once for all the cause of the Queen of Scots. Members of the French council, in conversation with him on the subject, had confessed "that Mary Stuart had made herself unworthy of government;" that Elizabeth "had shown rare favour to her;" "that their king for the future would forbear to recommend her," and that in fact, "his former recommendation of her cause proceeded rather for manners' sake to content others than of affection of his own, being by him thought guilty of so horrible crimes"[5] If, on the other hand, "the league went not forward," the reconciliation

[1] Objections to the league with France, August 22, Cecil's hand· *MSS. France.*
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid [4] Ibid
[5] Walsingham to Cecil, August 3: *MSS France.*

n and France "would come about another way;" the
on edicts would not be observed; "religion would be
verthrown;" "the house of Guise would bear the sway,
ould be as forward in preferring the conquest of Ireland,
e advancement of their niece to the crown of England,
other side was bent to prefer the conquest of Flanders."[1]
arguments were evenly balanced; but in Cecil's mind
rospect every way was almost desperate—desperate, not
gh its inherent difficulty, but from the combination of
nacy and vacillation in the queen, who was at once deter-
d to go her own way and unable to decide which way she
ed to go. He had exhausted his powers of persuasion and
onstrance. He could now but stand by, as he said, and wait
the visitation of the Almighty.

t is remarkable that while the public policy of the English
ernment was so uncertain, while Elizabeth believed it
ssible to recover Philip's friendship, and Cecil believed that
England abstained from meddling with the Low Countries she
ght perhaps escape being assailed at home or in Ireland, the
rovocations of the privateers in the Channel continued un-
ecked, and were allowed to assume proportions which would
e incredible but for the evidence on which they rest. In the
pring of the year the Prince of Orange's fleet, under Brederode
nd de la Mark, came down into Dover roads. There, joined
by their English consorts, they held complete command of the
Straits. Every Spanish vessel which attempted to pass was
pursued and usually caught; a market was held in Dover for
the sale of the cargoes, while some of the more daring cruisers
would harass the Spanish coast, pillaging churches and convents;
depreciating the price of silver by the quantities which they
captured, and at their banquets, when they came back in
triumph, drinking success to piracy from the consecrated
vessels.[2]

Alva sent an armed squadron from Antwerp to burn out this
nest of hornets. Brederode risked an engagement, but getting
the worst of it, he drew in under the cliffs, and the English
shore batteries opened upon the Spaniards, cut them up and
drove them off to sea.[3] Don Guerau complained, and demanded

[1] Walsingham to Cecil, September 26: *MSS. France.*

[2] "Es tanto el robo que truxéron ahora que la plata de Iglesias no se vendia sino á cinco sueldos la onça, *y con los Calices se brindaban en Dobrá unos á otros*" (underlined by Philip).—Don Guerau to the King of Spain, April 15, 1571; Don Guerau to Alva, April 23: *MSS. Simancas.*

[3] "Navi jam unâ ex piraticis captâ, reliquis consternatis, subito præter

the punishment of the officers in command. He was referred in answer to the example of Don Alvarez at Gibraltar, and was told that the English waters were a sanctuary.[1] The Spanish ships had suffered too severely to lie at sea upon the watch. They retired, with Brederode and La Mark hanging in their rear, cutting off the stragglers which had been lamed by the English shot; and the next news which came to London were that, not content with selling their cargoes, they were selling their prisoners, like the Algerine corsairs, for the chance of the ransom which they would fetch. The extraordinary spectacle was actually witnessed, of Spanish gentlemen being disposed of openly in Dover market at a hundred pounds a piece, and being kept in irons at the courthouse till their friends could purchase their liberty.[2]

It required no small audacity on the part of Elizabeth, when her harbours were the scene of outrages so unparalleled, to send a minister to Madrid to settle her differences with Philip. She calculated, however, on the notoriously extreme reluctance of the King of Spain to quarrel with her. The unlicensed violences of her subjects, if he was without the courage to resent them, might increase his anxiety for a better understanding with her; and she probably expected that Philip would submit to any conditions which she might please to dictate. She was herself uneasy at the possible consequences of her behaviour to France. She trusted perhaps to Philip's alarm at the report of her intended marriage, and she may have hoped that he would meet her overtures with an open hand. In fulfilment therefore of her promises to Alva, she commissioned Sir Henry Cobham to the Spanish court in the spring, and he arrived there just after

spem ex Doverensi arce munitionibusque vicinis magna pilarum procella tormentis continenter emissa nostram classem dissipavit magno accepto [illegible]

[illegible]

words.—

"Mitto ad Dominationem tuam domesticum meum, ut te certiorem reddat de rebus quæ fœde admodum Doveri aguntur, ubi prostant publice prædæ piraticæ venales, hominesque etiam nostri a latronibus capti venduntur, neque vili valde pretio Ad centum enim librarum summam unus et alter censi fuere, plurimique etiam ex his captivis apud Baillivium Doverensem in vinculis asservantur, interim piratis et Serenissimæ Reginæ magistratibus de illorum redemptione agentibus. Tanta est autem illic tam mercium captarum quam hominum auctio ut nullum possit esse aliud magis piratarum emporium in totâ Europâ."—Don Guerau to Burghley, September 12: *MSS Spain.*

Philip had received the Duke of Alva's letter, and was told to expect the coming of Ridolfi.

The first impression of the king when he heard that an English envoy was coming was much what Elizabeth expected: the pirates on one side, and the support continually given to the Prince of Orange by the Flemish refugees who had found an asylum in England, had troubled his peace of mind. He had been taught by Alva to distrust the resources of the English Catholics, and he was ready to endure considerable humiliation if he could be relieved at once of a source of perpetual uneasiness and danger. His father's last advice to him had been to hold fast by the English alliance; and England, whether Protestant or Catholic, was of equal political importance to him.

The endurance of his subjects, however, had been exhausted, if Philip himself continued patient. On the appearance of Cobham a memorial was presented to the king by the Spanish merchants, setting forth that, besides the losses which they were daily experiencing from the pirates, the property already taken from them by the English privateers amounted to more than three millions.[1] As the flag of Spain was no longer a protection to them, they said that they must decline for the future to fulfil their contracts with his majesty, or make themselves responsible for the transport of further money or stores to the army in Flanders.[2]

The remonstrance of the merchants was followed by a remarkable letter from the Duke of Feria to Philip's secretary, written no doubt for the king to see, but without the constraint which must have been imposed upon his pen had he addressed himself to Philip directly. De Feria, with his English wife, his English friends, and his English experience, believed himself qualified to speak with authority. He had seen Cobham and had heard what he had to say. His opinion of the situation he expressed thus:—

THE DUKE OF FERIA TO CAYAS[3]

May 10.

"We propose, I am told, to keep on terms of friendship with England; because, to make ourselves complete masters of that country and of Ireland is not immediately practicable. If the

[1] 3,000,000 ducats.

[2] Address of the merchants at Madrid to the King of Spain, April 28: *MSS. Simancas.*

[3] *MSS. Simancas.*

sovereign of England is not a Catholic, it will be very difficult for us to maintain that friendship; and yet, without it, we are unable to keep our hold upon the Low Countries. The queen has found us timid, and she now thinks to frighten us by pretending that she will marry with France. She will no more marry with France than she will marry me. She is no longer young, she has no strength to bear children, and she cannot live much longer. She is loathed by the nobility. She persecutes the Catholics, and she closes her ports to prevent them from leaving the realm; but for all this she has failed to break their spirit. They are stronger than ever, and she knows it. That France and England can become friends is most unlikely. The two nations instinctively hate each other, and the two queens can never trust one another. Against us, on the other hand, they have no natural enmity; our relations with them have been uniformly good, and commerce with Spain and the Netherlands has been most profitable to them, while the French have not a friend in the realm. The whole Catholic party are on our side, consisting as it does of all the greatest families. If we do not help them in their need, we shall offend God, and we shall leave the country to the heretics The queen is only

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Catholics, even while they have arms in their hands to help themselves and us Let the queen know that our king undertakes to protect her Catholic subjects: I warrant she will no more ill-use them, and there is no other way out of our present difficulties. For two years now we have been taking the coward's road, we have found it a dirty one, and it is time for us to try another. No one has a better right than I to speak of this matter: I have had much to do with the English, I know the queen, I know her ministers, I know their ways and their resources, and I cannot conceive for what reason we are so

[1] De Feria's effective metaphor does not bear a closer translation. His words are:

nothing from him of any consequence, except entreaties that I would exert myself for the restoration of trade. He left me more assured than ever that this is not the time for us to turn our backs upon the Catholics. If we are not prompt in moving we shall find ourselves in a dilemma from which there will be no escape. Tell the lords of the council from me to be careful what they do or say."

The English envoy seems to have been wholly unprepared for the temper with which his arrival was received. The Spanish government considered themselves beyond comparison the party most aggrieved. Cobham presented himself merely with a list of complaints against Philip and his ministers. The queen, he said, had desired above all things to remain on good terms with Spain. The Duke of Alva, without the smallest provocation, had arrested the English ships and goods in the harbours of the Low Countries. He had since attempted to arrange the quarrel, but his proposals had been such as the queen could not honourably accept; and meanwhile, both at Madrid and at Brussels, English traitors were received with open arms, and treated with marked consideration. He was directed by his mistress to say, that she declined to correspond with the Duke of Alva any longer on these subjects. She requested his majesty discuss them immediately with herself. If his majesty would anish Sir Thomas Stukely from Spain,[1] and if he would send orders to Flanders for the immediate dismissal of the refugees, the differences between the two countries could be satisfactorily adjusted, and the arrested property on both sides be restored.

Elizabeth as the wife of the Duke of Anjou might have held this language with success. Resting as it did upon a mere threat of a marriage which no one out of England expected to see fulfilled, and coming simultaneously with an offer which promised to place Elizabeth and her throne at Philip's mercy, the insolence of it was too much for the already sorely tried Castilians. The sluggish blood of the king himself ran quicker in his veins when he was required to refuse even common hospitality to the Catholic exiles.

The council sat for a week to consider their reply. Their discussions were submitted day after day to the king, and re turned with his comments on the margin. Their resoluti shaped itself at last into the following form:—

"The envoy had come to treat with the king in person.

[1] Stukely's story will be told hereafter. He had come from Irel ask for help in an intended insurrection there.

king should decline to hear or speak with him on any public matter. The envoy should be informed privately that his complaints and demands were alike preposterous. The disputes had notoriously commenced in the seizure of the Spanish

[illegible]

[illegible] admitting him to his presence. When he consented at last

[illegible]

king saw him for a few minutes only; the common forms of hospitality were not extended to him; he was left to dine at an inn, and returned to the capital the same evening. The council thought that for the king's credit some small present might be given to him, there was no precedence for the reception of an ambassador and his departure empty-handed. But Philip, being once launched upon the bold course, was more bitter than his advisers. "Presents," wrote the king in a side-note, "are given to envoys when they come on a mission of goodwill, and they are given when they come to declare war. But this man comes merely to threaten and terrify us. If we bestow a present on him he will boast of it, we shall dispirit the Catholics, and inflate the heretics with the belief that we are afraid." [1]

De Feria in the character of an acquaintance delivered the private message Cobham tried to argue that Alva had been the aggressor; but De Feria cut him short with saying, that he was sorry to hear an English ambassador condescend to falsehoods. He asked for the answer in writing, but he could not have it, and he was then sent for by the council.

Spinosa, the cardinal president, made a difficulty in addressing a heretic, and would have transferred the duty to a lay member of the cabinet. The words, however, it was thought would come with more imposing effect from one who might be

[1] "Lo que parece sabre el negocio de Cobham."—*Aranjuez, Mayo 14 é 19: MSS. Simancas.*

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king should decline to hear or speak with him on any public matter. The envoy should be informed privately that his complaints and demands were alike preposterous. The disputes had notoriously commenced in the seizure of the Spanish treasure; and while the English harbours were dens of pirates from which the king's revolted subjects preyed upon his commerce, while the crews were recruited from English subjects, and guns and powder supplied to them from English arsenals, to make a grievance of the residence of a few persecuted Catho-

as admitting him to his presence. When he consented at last to grant him an interview, it was to make the permission more insulting than a refusal He was at the Palace of Aranjuez, thirty miles from Madrid. Cobham went down there, and the king saw him for a few minutes only; the common forms of hospitality were not extended to him; he was left to dine at an inn, and returned to the capital the same evening The council thought that for the king's credit some small present might be given to him; there was no precedence for the reception of an ambassador and his departure empty-handed. But Philip, being once launched upon the bold course, was more bitter than his advisers "Presents," wrote the king in a side-note, "are given to envoys when they come on a mission of goodwill, and they are given when they come to declare war. But this man comes merely to threaten and terrify us. If we bestow a present on him he will boast of it, we shall dispirit the Catholics, and inflate the heretics with the belief that we are afraid." [1]

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supposed to speak in the name of God as well as of man. The cardinal therefore swallowed his scruples, and thus delivered the reply of Spain to the Queen of England:—

"If that queen would fulfil the office of a good neighbour and friend, his majesty had given proofs already that he would not on his part be found wanting towards her. It would please him much if the differences between the two countries could be compounded, and as a step towards it his majesty trusted that the Queen of England would at once restore the Spanish treasure. The details of the negotiation however were committed to the management of the Duke of Alva, and to him she was referred."[1]

With this answer and without his present Sir Henry Cobham returned to England, sick at heart with the same fears which haunted Cecil, and little dreaming then how soon he would again be at Madrid, with the same message, to find the note of defiance dying away in prostration and humility.

The Spanish ambassador chuckled over the dismay with which the news of his failure was received. "My Lord Burghley's burlesques,"[2] he said, "had gone off so well hitherto that he despised danger and thought that he had taken a bond of fortune. He with his friends had made a jest of our endurance. His conscience stings him now, but his malice is inveterate. He is given over to reprobate courses and cannot turn to any good. His majesty is wise and will provide against their tricks, though to see through them he requires more eyes than Argus. I will do my part to make him respected, as the great prince which he is, both by friends and enemies: but we must dissemble and be as Proteus, and hide our purposes, and they shall pay for their iniquities at last as they deserve. The audacity of Burghley in sending Cobham with such a message was indeed marvellous; but knowing them as I do, I am surprised at nothing. We must provide in time. If this French marriage or league, or both together, come about, they can do us harm in the provinces, but as certainly we can make a revolution in England; and I have no fear, if we are only prompt enough and do not allow this French business to consolidate itself. It need seem no work of ours, but merely a rebellion in which we may be called in to assist; and before the summer is over we

[1] "Lo que parece se debe responder á Enrique Cobham de palabra, y ninguna cosa por scripto. Mayo, 1571."—*MSS. Simancas.*

[2] The pun is Don Guerau's. "Y como á Milord Burghley todas las burlas hasta aqui le han salido bien," etc.—Don Guerau to Cayas, July 12: Ibid.

can transfer to their island the mischief which they tried to work in Flanders." [1]

Once more we go back to Ridolfi, who, leaving Alva, made his way with all speed to Rome. His commission was duly delivered, and the pope, the cardinals, and Don Juan de Cuniga sat in
begin
Don
Franc
vicar he was in the secrets of Providence, and he answered "that God would manage it." This conviction Don Juan could

it seems Ridolfi had told him. There was no hope that the Spanish property detained in England could be recovered by treaty, for not only those who had prompted the seizure of the treasure were unwilling to part with it, but the Catholics and the Queen of Scots intended to support them in their refusal, that they might compel Spain to go to war.[2]

But Philip now required no additional pressing After dismissing Cobham he was only eager for Ridolfi's coming. He had learned from England that the government was alarmed, and he was uneasy at delay as giving Elizabeth time to prepare —time perhaps to marry Anjou, or, still worse, time to make discoveries which might cost Norfolk and the Queen of Scots their heads.[3] The same misgiving crossed his mind at first which had occurred to Alva, that Ridolfi might at bottom be
...tter satisfied

"He has arrived at last," wrote Philip, giving an account to Don Guerau of his appearance "I have received your letter with those also from the Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk. Ridolfi has brought me also a note from his holiness. I am most anxious to do something, not for any object of my own or for any human interest, but merely and simply for God's glory. What I can and ought to do shall be done, and I shall now decide what it is to be. You will say thus much from me to the Catholics, and bid them be secret and quiet. Oppressed and

[1] Don Guerau to Cayas, July 12 and July 19, abridged. *MSS. Simancas.*
[2] Don Juan de Cuniga to Philip, May 11 and 17: Ibid.
[3] Philip II. to Don Guerau, June 20. Ibid.

ill-treated as they have been, they may possibly be too precipitate in their thirst for vengeance and may move before the time. Tell them that of all things they must keep still till our preparations are complete; if not, they may share the fate of the two earls; their cause will be lost, the Queen of Scots will be put to death, and all the other misfortunes which they can easily imagine will follow. I have sent a courier to the Duke of Alva to desire him at once to place himself in communication with you, and to direct you from time to time how you are to conduct yourself."[1]

To resolve to do something was by no means the same as to resolve what to do. Alva, it was seen, disapproved Ridolfi's method, briefly indicating another of his own; and in the council chamber at Madrid, to which Philip returned from Aranjuez in the beginning of July, there was held a remarkable discussion, the notes of which were preserved, though not intended for the curious eyes of mankind—a discussion first on the fitness, and then on the feasibility, of murdering the Queen of England.

The assassination of political enemies has an ugly sound, and in later and calmer times men of all beliefs and parties have agreed in one opinion about it. Yet, first, it does not differ so very widely from a practice still in use in our dependencies, of offering a reward for the body of troublesome persons, whether quick or dead; and secondly, in that passionate sixteenth century it was not peculiar to creed or nation. Catholics profess abhorrence of the murder of Beton in Scotland. Protestants retort with effect by pointing to the Regent Murray, the Prince of Orange, and the black butchery of St. Bartholomew. But both Protestants and Catholics might well drop their mutual reproaches; their sin was the sin of their age, the natural refuge of men who were driven desperate by difficulties which fair means would not clear away for them. Lord Sussex, in Ireland, would have murdered Shan O'Neil. Cecil, a few pages back, was seen treating with some villain for the death of the Earl of Westmoreland. In this meeting of Philip's cabinet there was the most profound impression that they could invite the blessing of God upon the execution of Elizabeth—that, on the whole, God would look upon it with decided approbation. They were all present, Cardinal Spinosa, Ruy Gomez, famous afterwards as the Prince of Eboli, the papal nuncio, the Grand Prior, Alva's son, Don Ferdinand of Toledo, and the Duke of Feria. Chapin Vitelli had come across from Flanders to attend the council, with a

[1] Philip II. to Don Guerau, July 13.

purpose presently to be seen. The account of what passed is

cause was the cause of God, and the King of Spain was the person on whom the duty manifestly devolved. The Catholic party was wearing away. It would never be stronger than it was at that moment. If the Catholic powers hung back, it would lose heart and dissolve. The Queen of England might marry the French prince, and heresy would become too powerful throughout Europe to be afterwards put down. The broad principle was plain; the details were less easy to settle. Alva, who was supposed to have crushed the rebellion in the Low Countries, had long solicited his recall, preferring to leave to other hands the work of reconstruction and reconciliation. The Duke of Medina Celi had been chosen for his successor; but with the usual

It could be represented that Alva's troops required to be relieved, as well as their general, and without exciting a suspicion a second army and a large fleet could then be collected, under pretence of accompanying the new viceroy. The army in the Netherlands, in the same way, could be marched to the ports, as if to embark for Spain, and the money for the English campaign could be provided, also, as if for the necessities of the Brussels treasury. So far no great difficulty was anticipated. Twice the number of men for which Norfolk asked could be landed in England with ease, but the question next arose, what reason they were to allege to the world for their appearance there? what proclamation were the Spaniards to put out? what were they to say that they were come to do?

The nuncio at once took upon himself to answer. Like his master, he made light of difficulties He believed that twelve legions of angels would accompany the expedition. The one sufficient pretext, he said, was in the bull of excommunication. The Vicar of God had deprived Elizabeth of her throne. The soldiers of the Church were the instruments of his decree, and were executing *the sentence of Heaven against the heretical tyrant.*

The Spanish ministers were loyal members of Holy Church. Alone among Christian sovereigns, the Spanish king had upheld

in the Mediterranean the Cross against the Crescent, and was still performing, single-handed, the duties in which every baptised prince had once sought and claimed his share. Philip II. was the one crusader that survived in Europe; but change of times had not left even Spain untouched by the modern spirit. Popes had more than once shifted sides in the long war with France, and an unconditional recognition of their claims to dispose of kingdoms was no longer convenient. The border could not be defined precisely of that cloudy debateable land where the temporal and spiritual powers passed one into the other; but the Catholic king himself could not allow the two provinces to be co-extensive, or seem to sanction the pretensions of the Holy See to depose sovereigns or absolve subjects from their allegiance. The bull had been issued without Philip's knowledge; it had not yet been published in Philip's dominions; and as the Duke of Feria observed, some pope of the future might trouble Spain with similar assumptions.[1] Even the Cardinal Spinosa preferred national to ultramontane interests, and the nuncio's proposal was politely waived on the plea that it would needlessly complicate the problem; that it would defeat the plan of the Duke of Norfolk, and be a signal for a general league between all the heretics in the world. The justification, it was soon concluded, should and could be only the Queen of Scots' claim on the succession to the crown, which the Queen of England unjustly refused to recognise. Even the wrongs of Spain were to be passed over in silence. The king should appear in the matter solely as the champion of a princess who was injured and oppressed. This being determined, the next point was the time and manner of the invasion. Should Spain begin? or should the English Catholics begin? The English Catholics wished to see Spain commit itself before they ventured another insurrection. The Duke of Alva had insisted that they should first do something for themselves, and the Spanish cabinet were of the same opinion. Ridolfi, who was admitted to the council, reproduced the scheme which he had laid before the duke; but the duke's letter was at hand, to be considered by the side of it; and it was thought certain that any such step as Ridolfi proposed would bring France into the field. The nuncio said that the pope would undertake for France; but the pope's temperament was more sanguine than judicious; and thus the question narrowed down to the ground taken by Alva. The key of the

[1] "Peligroso hacer la empresa en nombre de su Santidad, porque para lo de adelante vendria otro Papa que quisiese mezclarse con nosotros."

situation was Elizabeth's life. The Catholics would make nothing of an insurrection while the queen was alive and at large. She must either be killed or captured. That, in Alva's opinion, should be the reply which Ridolfi should carry back. The English must do that part of the business themselves; as soon as it was accomplished, the Spanish army should be instantly set in motion.

Yet it was felt that if they waited for this consummation they might wait long or for ever. There were traitors in plenty about the queen. There was Leicester's accursed crew in the household, and Arundel and Crofts upon the council; but either they were faint-hearted, or the English nature did not understand the art of murder. Spaniards and Italians could do it; Scots could do it excellently, but the English, from some cause or other, were wanting in the necessary qualities. Ridolfi, when questioned on the possibilities that way, gave unsatisfactory answers. There was not one among Norfolk's friends about the queen who could be thoroughly relied upon for any desperate enterprise.[1] There were seven or eight noblemen, however, he said, any one of whom would make the necessary opportunities, if some one else could be found to do the thing, and all would be ready to come forward afterwards He named Windsor, Lumley, Southampton, St. John, Arundel, Worcester, Montague—especially and peculiarly Montague, and Chapin Vitelli, who had come from the Netherlands for this particular purpose, now presented himself to help the council in their dilemma. [illegible] being disinterested, [illegible] He, if the matter was [illegible] queen. He knew England He was acquainted with the noblemen whom Ridolfi mentioned. It could not be done in London, but at the end of the summer Elizabeth would go on progress. She travelled inadequately guarded. She stayed at different country houses. He would go over with ten or fifteen companions; and when she was—as she need not fail to be—the guest of Montague, or some other of the set, he would obtain access to her person, perhaps pretending some commission such as he had been sent upon before, and then and there cut the knot of all difficulties.[2] The lords would have a force in readiness to

[1] "El Duque no tiene persona de los que estan con la Reyna en quien hacer fundamento"

[2] "A mi conviene començar por ellos, y matar ó prender la Reyna que de otra manera luego se casaria y mataria á la de Escocia. El punto principal que prendiesen á la Reyna. Offresce Chapin de prenderla con

support him. The Queen of Scots would be safe with Lord Shrewsbury: the countess was a Catholic, and conducted that queen's secret correspondence.[1] The Catholics would then everywhere rise, Alva would cross the Channel, and the revolution would be over before the French had recovered from their first astonishment.

The date of this notable conference agreed nearly with that of Cecil's saddest letter to Walsingham. Not without reason, Cecil believed that England's supreme hour of trial was drawing near, and but for the accident that the intended bridegroom was as reluctant as the bride, Elizabeth would have selected that particular opportunity for insulting France, and adding another enemy to those who were already in league against her.

The resolution of Philip's council was immediately forwarded to Alva; and Ridolfi, according to the Queen of Scots' instructions, would have gone on to Portugal. But Philip was unwilling to extend further the circle of conspiracy. If the enterprise was to succeed at all, his own troops would be sufficient, and Ridolfi's headlong temper did not personally recommend him to confidence. He too was sent to Brussels to be at Alva's orders. He wrote enthusiastic letters to Norfolk, to Mary Stuart, and the Bishop of Ross, detailing his success, and forwarded them under cover to Don Guerau; but there was so much fear of a premature disturbance, that Alva ordered Don Guerau not to deliver them, forbade him to mention their arrival, or to open his lips upon the subject to any living person till further orders.[2]

The Catholic king meanwhile made such haste as he was able to fit out the Duke of Medina Celi, whom Chapin was to accompany.[3] The power of Spain was still vast, but its movements

diez ó quince hombres en la casa de placer; que fuesen con titulo de demandar justicia; que en Londres seria dificultoso. Offrece de ir á ello en persona.

"Lo que dixó Vitelli que pues el pone la vida, bien se entendera que no le mueve interesse . . . que el efecto se ha de hacer yendo la Reyna en progreso, y en ninguna manera en Londres, porque alli es la heregia.

"James Graffs (Crofts) es hombre para el efecto. Que en caso que se haya d ehacerlo en progreso serían convenientes Montague y . . . y en casa de algunos de los caballeros, y bastarán seys, siendo luego asistidos de otra gente: que ellos estan resueltos en despachar á la Reyna. Tienen á Clinton y James Crofts, Windsor, Lumley, Montague, Southampton, St. John, Arundel, Worcester."—Lo que se platicó en consejo sobre las cosas de Inglaterra en Madrid, Sabado 7 de Julio, 1576: *MSS. Simancas.*

[1] "Por medio della van y vienen las cartas y avisos."

[2] Alva to Don Guerau, July 30: *MSS. Simancas.*

[3] There seems to have been some uncertainty, after all, whether Philip did not withdraw his sanction of the murder. Writing on the 4th of

were ponderous and slow. The Duke of Feria died in August, and with him the most ardent in the matter of all the council. Other matters too claimed attention. Don John of Austria was in the Mediterranean, getting ready for Lepanto. Too much time was already gone, and what remained of the summer was all too little for the work that was to be done. Don Guerau was growing restless and impatient. The English council, he

t they knew but little. If

all would go well. The

were all prepared. If the

summer went by, they might despond again; Scotland might be conquered, the Queen of Scots killed; and Lord Hertford or the little Prince of Scotland declared heir to the throne. Other factions were fast merging in the two great religious divisions, and the longer the delay, the stronger the Protestants would grow. Above all, there was no safety while such a man as Cecil was at the head of the queen's government. "Tell his majesty," Don Guerau wrote to Cayas, "that Cecil is a fox cunning as sin, and the mortal enemy of Spain. He moves in silence and falsehood, and

by his po

for less;

But Ce

diligence. He had meditated for two years on sending Alva to the Low Countries. He had kept his secret, matured his arrangements, and believed that he had accomplished what he desired. To be slow and silent, to take every precaution to

August to Alva, he tells him simply to prepare to invade England, to

nsure success, and then to deliver suddenly at last the blow which had been long vaguely impending—this was the Spanish method. It had answered before: it might answer again.

So Philip thought, and let the days go by. He had taken a false measure of his antagonist. It was not without reason that Don Guerau warned him to beware of Cecil.

It will be remembered that Sir John Hawkins, in his great disaster on the coast of Mexico, left the majority of the survivors of his crews in the hands of the Spaniards. Prisoners of war in all countries were considerably worse off than well-befriended felons in common gaols. The felon who had money commanded all the luxuries which the corruption of the warders could provide. The prisoner of war, stripped of everything that he possessed at his capture, and far away from his friends, experienced the hardest extremities which the inhumanity of carelessness could inflict. English captives everywhere would have had no enviable lot. In Spain, and in the Spanish colonies, they fell as heretics into the hands of the inquisition. Some of Hawkins's men had been burnt; all had been more or less tortured; and such as had not died or been murdered, had been transferred to Europe, and were lying half dead of hunger in the Archbishop of Seville's dungeons.[1] Sir John was not a virtuous man in the clerical sense of the word, but he had the affection of a brave man for the comrades who had fought at his side; and the fate of those poor fellows who had hunted negroes with him in the mangrove swamps, had surveyed the reefs in the Gulf of Mexico, and shared so many dangers and so many successes, now lying in those horrid dens at the mercy of the familiars of the Holy Office, never left his mind. Two years after his return, while they were still in Mexico, he had intended to go out i[n] search of them. The government, afraid of the consequence[s], prevented the expedition, and Hawkins, since he was forbidde[n] to use force, determined to try what he could do by cunnin[g]. With Cecil's secret permission, he paid a visit to Don Guera[u], complained of his ill usage by the crown, and asked wheth[er] nothing could be done for the relief of his companions. D[on] Guerau never lost an opportunity of encouraging disconte[nt], and Hawkins allowed himself to be led on to speak so bitte[rly] of the government, that Don Guerau suggested to Alva t[hat] it might be worth while to secure the gratitude of so a[ble] and formidable a person by setting the prisoners at liber[ty].

[1] "Muertos de hambre," was the admission of the Spaniards themse[lves] ... *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Don Guerau to Alva, August 21, 1570:

Hawkins, however, was not able to secure his object so easily; nothing came of Don Guerau's suggestion; the men were not

John intimated to Don Guerau, that he too was weary of serving an ungrateful sovereign. He professed himself willing, if his companions were restored to him, to enter the Spanish service, and to carry over with him the finest ships and the bravest sailors in the queen's navy. Don Guerau, who was full of the idea that three-quarters of the people were disaffected, saw nothing to surprise, but much to delight him in this communication. He had sufficient prudence not to admit his new friend to the Ridolfi mystery, but he wrote to Cayas with an account of the offer which seemed to fit providentially with the scheme of the intended invasion. The sea was Elizabeth's strongest defence, and Hawkins was the ablest commander that she possessed—given to piracy, indeed, but piracy was a common English failing, for which Spanish apathy was much to blame [1]—otherwise, bold, resolute, a splendid seaman, and a person of station and property.

Encouraged by the ease with which the ambassador was taken

was one of the many Englishmen who were broken-hearted at the progress of heresy; to say that, as a faithful son of Holy Church, he was waiting for the time when the queen would be overthrown, and the crown pass to its rightful owner, the Queen of Scots; and that he himself, with his friends in the navy, were ready to do their part in bringing about that happy consummation.

The king, to whom Hawkins's reputation had long been terribly familiar, who could never read his name in a despatch

at an overture so utterly unlooked for. One of the pirate race, Thomas Stukely, had indeed already come over to him. Stukely was Sir John's cousin, and so far the thing was not utterly

[1] "Inclinado á robar como lo son todos de su nacion, mayormente ahora, viendo que se salen con todo sinque nadie los contradiga."—Don Guerau to Cayas, March 25, 1571.

incredible; but his instinct told him to distrust the advances of Hawkins. He asked Fitzwilliam whether his master was acquainted with the Queen of Scots? Fitzwilliam was obliged to say that he was not. Was he in communication with the Catholic noblemen, or with the refugees in Flanders? He had never spoken to one of them. But when Philip went on to inquire who and what he was then, and what claim he possessed to be believed, Fitzwilliam haughtily answered that the credit of Sir John Hawkins was in his right hand, and what he said he meant. He had offered to pass over to the service of his majesty with the English fleet. He desired nothing in return but the release of a few poor prisoners at Seville, who were not worth the cost of keeping them. The crews of the ships would follow where he led them. The king need only pay them their usual wages, and advance some small sum of money to complete the equipment of the vessels to which his own means were unequal.[1]

The thing was strange, but the very boldness and simplicity of Fitzwilliam's language was against the notion of deception. The Duke of Feria, whom Philip consulted, took his cue from his wife's[2] relations, who were enthusiastic believers in the success of the revolution. The duke saw in the adherence of the king of the buccaneers only a fresh proof that all England was returning to the faith. Don Guerau's letters were favourable; and Philip at last listened—listened so far at least as to write to the ambassador for fuller information, and to tell Fitzwilliam that if he would return to him with a letter of introduction from the Queen of Scots, and with a precise and exact account of what was to be done, his master's propositions should be favourably received, and money also should not be wanting to put the fleet in good order. Not a hint had been dropped by the cautious king about the meditated invasion; but the Duke and Duchess of Feria were less cautious. They talked over with Fitzwilliam the possible achievements which Hawkins might accomplish. They trusted him with letters and presents to the Queen of Scots, giving him the excuse which he wanted for being introduced to her; and with these, and with the information at least that the King of Spain was willing to encourage the desertion of the fleet, he returned to England a little before Sir Henry Cobham. He had gone over merely to dupe Philip into letting go the prisoners. Before he came back

[1] "Las cosas de que Jorge Fitzwilliam ha de traer claridad." April, 1571: *MSS. Simancas.* Respuesto á los Articulos: Ibid.
[2] Jane Dormer, one of Queen Mary's maids of honour.

the arrest and examination of Charles Baily had sharpened Cecil's suspicions, and more might now be made of the original purpose of the deception. If followed up, it might lead either to Hawkins being admitted into the whole secret of the conspiracy; or, if the trick was discovered, he would at the worst discredit other overtures from English disloyalty, and make Philip doubt whether it was not all treachery together. Thus it was decided to go on. Hawkins was bent on recovering his friends, and Cecil on unravelling the mystery of which Baily had revealed the existence, but had left but half explained. The important thing was now to obtain the letter of introduction from the Queen of Scots.

In this there was an unexpected difficulty. Fitzwilliam went down to Sheffield to deliver the packets from the Duke of Feria. The Queen of Scots had been kept close prisoner since the confession of Charles Baily, and Shrewsbury had been commanded to allow no one to have access to her, except with an order from the government. It was not safe to admit Shrewsbury into the secret of Hawkins's treachery, and unless Fitzwilliam could sustain his character of a *bonâ-fide* Catholic conspirator, the Queen of Scots would be on her guard.

Hawkins consulted Cecil.[1] The release of the prisoners, which was Hawkins's principal object, was considered a sufficient excuse to cover the application. Cecil wrote to Shrewsbury,

the Ferias, and the Queen of Scots, little dreaming that she

The Right Honble. the Lord BURGHLEY"
"May 13. —MSS QUEEN OF SCOTS, *Rolls House.*

for no such sordid purpose. He was in search of secrets of state of tremendous moment, and treachery in extreme exigencies

July. The murder of Elizabeth had been decided upon, the instrument chosen and sent upon his errand. England was to be recovered to the Church and the penitent Hawkins was accepted as the first fruit of the national conversion. The letters of the Queen of Scots removed every doubt that remained. The sailor captives were set at liberty and sent back to their country each with ten dollars in his pocket to atone for his sufferings. Fitzwilliam was introduced to the cabinet, and explained at length his master's views. Sir John Hawkins, he said, was struck with horror at the condition to which his country was reduced. Heresy and tyranny were alone dominant there in frightful combination, and the Queen of Scots was the only hope that good men saw remaining. She had so many friends that if the King of Spain would but say the word the work of raising her to the throne could be done with ease and safety. Sir John himself had but to sail up the Humber with half-a-dozen ships, land the crews and proclaim her queen, and the whole nation would declare for her.

Mary Stuart in her letter to Philip had said, after all, less than

correspondence was watched and that she dared not write more than a few words. Hawkins himself, however, Fitzwilliam stated, had 16 vessels, 1600 men, and 400 guns, all at his majesty's disposition, ready to go anywhere and do anything

would cover the pre[illegible]
was going to serve [illegible]
the Spanish coast.
fall into her own pit He desired only to have the fleet in a condition to do his majesty royal service. In this he was obliged to throw himself on his majesty's liberality, and he requested his majesty also to advance him two months' wages for 1600 men.

The proposal seemed so liberal that Philip forgot his caution and dropped his reserve. He had still prudence enough to conceal his correspondence with Norfolk, Chapin's mission, and the intended assassination; but Fitzwilliam was allowed to know that England was really to be invaded, and that the blow was to be struck, if possible, at the end of the summer. Indentures were drawn at the Escurial and were signed by Fitzwilliam for Hawkins and by the Duke of Feria—just before his death—for Spain. Hawkins bound himself to have his fleet at sea, to be at the disposition of the Duke of Alva, in September and October. Philip consented to advance the necessary moneys, and being in a generous mood, expressed a hope that in the event of success Sir John and his friends would accept, in addition, something handsome for themselves. The pardon for the misdoings in the Spanish main was drawn out in full, with an assurance that if the expedition failed, they should be sure of employment in the Spanish service.[1]

This prodigious "practice" was thus entirely successful. The English government learnt the particulars of the danger which lay before them and were able to prepare for it—prepare for it in part with finances furnished by Philip himself; Hawkins held himself in readiness to join Alva as soon as he should sail, intending to sink him in mid-channel. Philip paid the money for which Fitzwilliam asked, some forty or fifty thousand pounds, through his agents in England. He made Hawkins himself a grandee of Spain, and sent him, through Fitzwilliam's hands, his patent of nobility.

One more communication from Sir John to Cecil contains all that requires to be told further.

SIR JOHN HAWKINS TO LORD BURGHLEY

PLYMOUTH, *September* 4.

"My very good Lord,—It may please your honour to be advertised that Fitzwilliam is returned from the court of Spain, where his message was acceptably received both by the king himself, the Duke of Feria, and others of the privy council. His dispatch and answer was with great expedition, and great countenance and favour of the king. The articles are sent to

[1] The documents relating to these negotiations are very numerous, and with the exception of the letters which passed between Hawkins and Burghley, are all at Simancas. The Spanish historians, knowing only their own archives, have supposed that Hawkins was really acting in good faith with Philip. The king did not care to leave on record an account of the trick by which he had been taken in.

the ambassador, with orders, also, for the money to be paid to me by him, for the enterprise to proceed with all diligence. Their pretence is, that my powers should join with the Duke of Alva's powers, which he doth secretly provide in Flanders, as well as with the powers which cometh with the Duke of Medina out of Spain, and so altogether to invade this realm and set up the Queen of Scots. They have practised with us for the burning of her majesty's ships, therefore there would be some good care had of them, but not as it may appear that anything is discovered—as your lordship's consideration can well provide.

"The king hath sent a ruby of good price to the Queen of Scots, with letters also, which in my judgment were good to be delivered. The letters be of no importance, but his message by word is to comfort her and say that he hath now none other care but to place her in her own. It were good, also, that the ambassador did make a request unto your lordship that Fitzwilliam may have access to the Queen of Scots, to render thanks for the delivery of the prisoners which are now at liberty. It will be a very good colour for your lordship to confer with him more largely. I have sent your lordship the copy of my pardon from the King of Spain, in the very order and manner I have it. The Duke of Medina and the Duke of Alva hath every of them one of the same pardons more amplified to present unto me, though this be large enough, with my great titles and honours from the king, from which God deliver me. I send your lordship, also, the copy of my letter from the Duke of Feria, in the very manner as it was written, with his wife's and son's hand in the end.[1] Their practices be very mischievous, and they be never idle, but God, I hope, will confound them, and turn their devices upon their own necks. I will put my business in some order, and give my attendance upon her majesty, to do her that service that by your lordship shall be thought most convenient in this case. I am not tedious with your lordship, because Fitzwilliam cometh himself, and I mind not to be long after him, and thus I trouble your lordship no further.

"Your lordship's most faithfully to my power,

"JOHN HAWKINS."[2]

The letter came opportunely, for Cecil, as will presently be seen, had by this time the few remaining threads in his hand which would ravel out the whole conspiracy. Very hateful such

[1] Not found.   [2] *Domestic MSS. Rolls House.*

proceedings may seem to some readers, as if it were better that a government should perish than to be driven to maintain itself by treachery. Elizabeth won the game, and therefore the faults on her side appear gratuitously wicked. We fancy that she might have succeeded as easily by fairer means, while the like doings on the other side are passed over in a general sentiment of compassion for the losing cause. Yet treachery was but meeting treachery. The Queen of Scots, on the whole, held better cards than Elizabeth, and but for Cecil, the Queen of Scots would probably have won, and Chapin's poniard and Alva's legions might have given another complexion to English history. The Queen of Scots' iniquities would then have stood out in the relief of success. The pity would have been for Elizabeth, the moral censure for her more lucky rival. In this and all such conditions, our praise and our blame are alike impertinent, for it is impossible to apportion them fairly. The rules which insist on truth and candour between man and man and government and government, apply only to quiet, or at least to honourable ages. Wars and treasons and conspiracies derange the natural relation of things, and bring about situations where other balances are required. The baser crimes which spring from selfishness and cowardice are hideous in every time and place: but Hamlet is not condemned for rewriting his uncle's packet, because Shakespeare, in the fullness of genius, places the facts before us with all their surroundings. Let the reader exert his imagination to call up before him the situation of Elizabeth and her minister, and he will be sparing of his outcries in proportion to the vigour of his thought.

The anticipation that the year 1571 would prove a critical one in the fortunes of England was entirely verified. The Ridolfi conspiracy was the last combined effort of the English aristocracy to undo the Reformation and strangle the new order of things before it grew too strong for them. The exigencies of history compel us to follow in single lines the many threads of which the situation was made up. London, Paris, Brussels, Rome, Madrid—we have had to transport ourselves from one to the other, while at each and all, at the same time, the warp and the woof of Elizabeth's destiny were forming. We have watched the English Parliament at home labouring for the cause of God and freedom. We have seen Philip's cabinet planning murder, in the cause also, as they believed, of God and Holy Church; while Cecil and Walsingham were struggling desperately to bind England and France together, and the queen was

choosing the edge of the precipice to execute her matrimonial coquet dance. Dungeons have been thrown open, where wretched prisoners were yielding their secrets to the rack,[1] or

everywhere, conscious or unconscious that on him, and on what

Dumbarton and the ineffectual close of the London conference,

he pretence
France nor
roject made
them unwilling to quarrel; and till that marriage was accomplished, they were equally unable to act in concert. At the same time, neither cared to desert their friends entirely; and thus both sides were encouraged with promises and fed with money. King's party and queen's party were called to the field, and one could not overwhelm the other; and the hopeless struggle was varied only by some gallant achievement like the storming of Dumbarton. Had Elizabeth resolved from the beginning, as she had now resolved at last, to keep Mary Stuart

tion with the European powers, and the peace of Scotland would never have been disturbed. The settlement in James's favour was the one step which, beyond question, she ought to have taken, and which she only did not take from the peculiar perversity of temperament which never would allow her to

[1] Charles Baily was not the only sufferer. Hall, Sir Thomas Stanley's

ove directly and openly towards any object, however excellent, owever just, however expedient.

She had played fast and loose so often with the Protestants hat, but for the interest of their common religion, they would ong ago have fallen off from her. As it was, the position of parties was briefly this. The regent, supported by Mar and Morton, held Stirling, Glasgow, and Dumbarton. The Laird of Grange and Maitland were in Edinburgh Castle, where, after the execution of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, they were joined in force by the Hamiltons, with Buccleuch, Fernihurst, and Lord Hume, and then took possession of the town. The north and west, with the Gordons, Argyle, and Athol, were for the queen. From Stirling to St. Andrew's, and south till within thirty miles of the border, the farmers and peasants were mainly Protestants. The French were more liberal of money than Elizabeth. Elizabeth reluctantly doled out a thousand pounds to the regent on a single occasion. Mary Stuart's dowry was regularly paid to the other side, with four thousand crowns a month in addition from Charles and Catherine.

So matters stood on the arrest of Charles Baily and the partial discovery of Ridolfi's plot. Elizabeth, as usual, was roused for a time into resolution. Drury was sent to Edinburgh to remonstrate with Grange and Maitland "for occupying the city in warlike manner," and to inform them that if he or his party "brought in strangers," "the queen would avenge their obstinacy against the common peace." Cannon were prepared in Berwick, and an expeditionary force was organised and put in marching order for the reduction of Edinburgh Castle.[1]

So obviously necessary, if Elizabeth's throne was to be preserved, was the reduction of Scotland under the regent's authority, that Mary Stuart's party were unable to believe that decisive measures could be longer postponed. Lord Seton fl[ed] to Paris to entreat assistance. It was at the moment when [the] queen-mother was most sanguine about the English marri[age] and the application was especially unwelcome. Seton said [that] he hoped that in the midst of her new schemes she would [not] forget her old friends. He reminded her of the many ga[llant] Scots who "had offered themselves for the country of Fra[nce] and had left their 'banes' behind them there." Cath[erine] gave but cold answers. The Archbishop of Glasgow stood by, but did not speak a word.

"Madam," said the old lord passionately, "I must spea[k]

[1] Elizabeth to Sir William Drury, May 20: *MSS. Scotland*

words to you, and pray you to receive them as coming out of a true French heart. [illegible] there was never sent from Scotland [illegible] more honourable suit [illegible]; and seeing that this vain opinion of the Queen of England's marriage is so had in conceit of you that ye heed not us who are invaded with fire and sword and our castles and houses demolished; as I have shown you before the nobility of Scotland will not fail to sue where they may best."[1]

Lord Seton fell back on Brussels. The friends of Mary Stuart in Scotland followed the lead of the English lords, and deserted by France, flung themselves upon Alva and Spain. The coldness of the French court gave fresh facilities for the organisation of the intended invasion. Should accident prevent a landing at Harwich, the coast of Aberdeen was close at hand and always open, and the presence of a Spanish army in the island was all that was needed to call the Catholics to the field.

Meanwhile, till the Spaniards were ready it was necessary to keep Elizabeth in play, and to prevent her from executing her threat of reducing the castle of Edinburgh. Her determined moods seldom lasted more than a few days, and Maitland's pen was called into requisition to soothe her into a false security.

Maitland had a singular influence over Elizabeth She corresponded with him in private, and while Cecil was threatening him in her name, she was herself unsaying Cecil's language behind the scenes. Whatever may have been her secret purpose in so doing, she allowed him to see that she did not desire to interfere if she could help it, and that she would welcome any opening which he could make for her to escape from the necessity which was being forced upon her Maitland believed her incapable, through her vacillation, of any consistent policy. He despised her and played upon her weakness. When he received Drury's message, and heard of the preparations at Berwick, he wrote to remind her " how often she had urged him to remain faithful to his own queen, how at times she had reproached him for his seeming want of duty, how incredible it appeared to him that she should now take his fidelity to his mistress unkindly. He could not and would not acknowledge the regency of Lennox. His property had been confiscated. He and many other noblemen had been declared outlaws. The king, when he took on him the administration, would find no kingdom apt for rule, but a confused chaos, where within short

[1] Seton to Maitland, May 31: *MSS Scotland*

time there would start up two or three hundred resembling Shan O'Neil, whereof every one would be king in his own bounds or within ten miles' compass. Neither he nor his friends would permit five or six earls and lords, not of the greatest degree, to make slaves of all who would not serve their turn; and for himself, he had not been accustomed to misery, and would find it strange to be driven to live on other men's charity. This, however, he was ready to do. He would use his credit to procure a *reasonable union* of all the states of the realm to maintain peace with England. He would procure that her majesty should be put in trust to make a final end of all controversies and be moderatrix in all their debates; this point only reserved, that she would so deal with the Queen of Scots that he and his friends might not be condemned of having dealt undutifully with their sovereign, to whom he for his own part was particularly bound for benefits received, and had made promises which in honour he might not break."[1]

The intention of this letter was to gain time till Alva could land, the Catholics rise, and Elizabeth and the Queen of Scots change places. Mary Stuart and the Bishop of Ross had admitted, in explanation of Charles Baily's confession, that the Spaniards had been invited into Scotland. It was more than ever essential to put down the party which would open their ports to receive them. But Maitland's words chimed in exactly with Elizabeth's detestation of resolute action. She underlined particular expressions in the letter with marks of her approval, and Drury was again ordered up to Edinburgh and Stirling, to say that force, after all, was not to be used; a commission should sit again in London to arrange a compromise.

The queen's friends had as much intention of submitting to Elizabeth as of accepting the Archbishop of Canterbury for their Metropolitan. When Drury came to Edinburgh, he found Chatelherault holding a Parliament in the Tolbooth to reinstate Mary Stuart "as only lawful sovereign of Scotland." Making a mild protest—all that he was now allowed to make—he went on to the lords at Stirling, where his appearance was the signal for a burst of execrations. "Among the hot bloods of the young men" he was "in danger of his life;" "shot at divers times;" dreaded by the regent as the minister of that uncertain action which had caused all the existing misery, hated and cursed as "a false treacherous Saxon." The lords had hoped that at last Elizabeth must declare decisively for them. If

[1] Maitland to Elizabeth, May 30, condensed: *MSS. Scotland.*

they waited till Alva landed they were lost, and the first impulse was to throw up for ever the service of a mistress who never for two days together remained in one mind, and make terms with their enemies at Edinburgh. The regent, old, infirm, and over-influenced [illegible]
with his own [illegible]
sent the way [illegible]
to Morton, to which Morton was supposed to be listening. "The Castilians," as the queen's faction was called, were supported with money from France and Flanders. The regent, to *maintain a force, was driven to distrain still upon the few* noblemen who adhered to the king. The situation could not be prolonged under such conditions. On the 14th of July Drury reported to Cecil that, unless her majesty could make up her mind at once what she meant to do, "both parties were determined to agree among themselves, the same being already in hand."[1] Had the Queen of England been liberal with money, the regency might have continued; but with ample supplies on one side and on the other only contradictory advice and perpetual vacillation, the lords who had stood for the king could no longer persevere in so thankless and dangerous a course. Even Elizabeth's own people could not be paid their own justly earned wages. Drury complained that he had himself incurred such expenses in her majesty's service that he was weighed down with debt.[2]

In the midst of these distractions, and immediately arising out of them, a third party now appeared, which, though unfavourable to Mary Stuart and scarcely less so to Elizabeth, [illegible]

[illegible]

approved entirely of the new connection with Spain. They remained true to their French sympathies, and the change of policy at Paris, the reviving influence of the Huguenots, and the liberalising tendencies of the king, produced a corresponding effect upon his friends in Scotland. As the Guises lost their ascendency the French court became again indifferent to Mary Stuart, and was as willing as it had been four years before to support the king if it could win back the Scotch alliance. If the Anjou marriage had come off, France and England, and the

[1] Drury to Cecil, July 14: *MSS. Scotland.*

[2] Ibid.

cotch friends of both, would work together. If the marriage ailed, France would not allow Scotland to become Spanish; and if Mary Stuart flung herself on Philip, for their own sakes they were forced to take up the cause of her son. In the universal uncertainty no definite resolution was possible; but M. de Virac was sent back with large discretionary powers; and thus through the summer months there followed a series of intrigues and counter-intrigues, the principles of which are generally intelligible but the details utterly confounding. This only is clear, that all alike were bidding for popularity by appealing to the national sentiment, swearing "that Scots would never thrall their land to England. The King of France, if he would, should be judge in all their differences."[1] The nobler element in Scottish life was for a time in abeyance. Knox had withdrawn from Edinburgh to St. Andrew's. The reforming noblemen were divided and disheartened. The commons were lying in the dead water between the opposite tides, and for the present attending chiefly to their farms and their trades. At length, towards the end of August, things began to assume defined outlines. Three parties had shaped themselves—French, Spanish, and English. Chatelherault, Maitland, Huntly, Fernihurst, Buccleuch—those who had been most nearly connected with the English Catholics, and were to some extent in the secre of their plans—followed the main line of the conspiracy an remained in correspondence with Alva. Argyle, Cassilis, Eglin ton, and several others broke away and declared for the king- for the king and France—or for the king and France and En land—as events and as their friends should direct them. Th came to an understanding with the party at Stirling. Lenn for general convenience and through Morton's interest, was be continued as regent. Elizabeth had bought Morton's vices, finding it cheaper to bribe a single nobleman than main a government.[2] But he was to be placed under restra unable to act without consent of a council, and generally dered so uneasy in his seat "that he would be glad t gone."[3]

A great meeting of the lords was held at Stirling, to con the propositions which should be submitted to Elizabeth.

[1] John Case to Drury, August 29: *MSS. Scotland.*

[2] Morton took her money and professed to place himself at Eliz disposition, "either to use him to quench the fire among them or t the flame break out further."—Drury to Cecil, August 24: *MSS land.*

[3] John Case to Drury, September 2: *MSS. Scotland.*

much only they had at once resolved, that the prince should in

and no right

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e the Scottish

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Whether a

wards to the rescue of the Queen of Scots. In reply to the Hamiltons' Parliament at the Tolbooth, a rival meeting was held at Stirling, where Chatelherault and Huntly were attainted, and the assembled lords gave out that they meant to march immediately upon Edinburgh, and starve the castle into submission.

The Castilians—or rather Maitland, for Maitland was the inventor of the enterprise—proposed to anticipate them. He flattered himself that if he could bring all parties together with some vantage ground of position to himself, he could settle matters in his own way, and flatter the ambition of Scotland by a sketch of the prospect which that autumn was to open for the queen. His plan was characteristic both of himself and his countrymen—a companion enterprise, though far grander in its aim and scope, to Crawford's capture of Dumbarton.

in the field, and the last thought which would have occurred to any one would have been that there was danger of surprise. Buccleuch and Fernihurst, with a few score border troopers, men accustomed to desperate adventures, had been for some time at Edinburgh. It was given out that they were going back to their own country. Half a dozen of them were sent forward to Queen's Ferry to keep the passage, and on the evening of the 3rd of September, the two border leaders, with

[1] Lennox to Cecil, August 25: *MSS. Scotland.*

Huntly, Lord Claud Hamilton, and 120 troopers, rode quietly out of the gate. They took the Jedworth road to prevent suspicion. Dusk fell as they cleared the suburbs, and they swept round to the right, galloped rapidly through the darkness, and by three in the morning were within a mile of Stirling. Here they dismounted and left their horses, "lest the clattering of hoofs upon the paved road" should be heard by the guard. Stealing silently on, they crept, "by a secret passage," through the wall, and made their way undiscovered to the market-cross at the head of the town. It was now between four and five in the morning, and day was breaking. The king was in the castle beyond their reach, but the noblemen were lodged in the houses round the market-place. They had exact information of the place where each of them would be found, and Lennox, Argyle, Glencairn, Sutherland, Cassilis, and Eglinton were taken one by one out of their beds without a blow being struck. They were less successful with Morton, who, hearing the disturbance, had time to barricade his door, and with a party of his servants held out desperately till the house was set on fire. It was one of those high, narrow buildings so common in Scotch towns. As the flames spread upwards the poor women and children in the upper stories leapt from the windows and were killed upon the pavement. At length, when the roof began to fall in, Morton, singed and scorched, grimed with smoke, and half dressed, came out and surrendered to his kinsman Buccleuch.

So far the success had been brilliant. The regent and the leading noblemen were prisoners, and they had now only to make off as they had come, before the soldiers in the castle were roused. The fighting had made hot blood. Lord Claud Hamilton owed Morton a grudge for Drury's invasion, and attempted to stab him; and Buccleuch, to save his life, called off some of his men, and putting Morton in the midst of them, made his way down the street to the gate. The party, which was small already, was thus divided, and when Huntly would have followed with the rest, there was a difficulty in collecting them. Border thieves, if useful in some aspects of them, had their disadvantages. A town seemingly at their mercy was too much for their habits to resist. The stables were filled with the finest horses in Scotland. The lives of the freebooters of Hawick and Jedburgh depended often on the fleetness of their steeds, and such a chance as the present might never return. Thus having, as they supposed, secured their prisoners, they dispersed in search of plunder. Morton's resistance had already

cost too much time and created too much disturbance. The recall bugle was sounded impatiently, but the men were too busy to attend to it; and by this time the town was awake, the guard had turned out in the castle, and parties of armed men came streaming into the market-place from every wynd and alley. Further delay was impossible. Those who were left to guard the prisoners made after Buccleuch to the gate. The prisoners themselves, most of them seeing their friends at hand, shook themselves easily free; and Buccleuch, who was taking care of Morton's life, was obliged in turn to surrender. Lennox was less fortunate. He had been tied on a horse's back, and a handful of men were scrambling off with him down one of the side streets. They were hotly pursued, and Claud Hamilton, remembering the archbishop, and fearing that he would be rescued, ran after them, calling out, "Shoot him, shoot the regent!" A trooper, named Cawdor, drew a pistol and fired, and Lennox fell mortally wounded, and was left upon the ground. Then all was confusion. The borderers had done their peculiar portion of the business well. They got off with 300 horses, "besides a great butin of merchants' goods," but from twenty to thirty of the party were taken or killed, Scott of Buccleuch among them, and to the plunder had been sacrificed the whole serious fruit of an enterprise, which, in the opinion of the Castilians, "if it had been wisely followed out, had put an end to the troubles of Scotland without blood or difficulty."

Lennox survived only a few hours, and "then departed to God very peacefully," "exhorting all men to follow still the [illegible]

kings.

Cawdor, who was taken, was broken on the wheel. He confessed, and a comrade confessed also, that their orders had been to kill Morton and Ruthven also

On the spot, that there should be no trouble with Elizabeth, the Earl of Mar was elected as Lennox's successor. The fire of hate was fanned into fury, and Maitland's stroke of brilliant strategy served only to draw a sharper line of separation between the Castilians and the rest of their countrymen.

Had Alva come, the north and east were still held b[illegible] Huntly, and Aberdeen would have been open to receive [illegible] but on that same week of September, when Lenno[illegible] [illegible]ng at

tirling, and Hawkins was writing from Plymouth of his officer's uccess at Madrid, a happy accident explained to Cecil the nissing ciphers, and extinguished the remaining chances of the Ridolfi conspiracy.[1]

[1] For the attempt at Stirling see advertisements from Scotland, September 6: *MSS. Scotland*. Another account: Ibid. Maitland and Grange to Sir William Drury, September 6: Ibid. Drury to Cecil, September 10 and September 13: Ibid. Confession of Cawdor and Bell: Ibid. Two letters, ciphers deciphered, from Maitland to Mary Stuart, September —: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

CHAPTER XXII

TRIAL OF THE DUKE OF NORFOLK—CIVIL WAR IN SCOTLAND

As the summer of 1571 passed away, each week had brought fresh information on the intended invasion of England. The confessions which had been forced out of Baily in the Marshalsea and the Tower had revealed the general fact that a treasonable correspondence was going forward between the Netherlands, the Bishop of Ross, and other parties whose names were concealed behind a cipher. Sir John Hawkins had penetrated into

zabeth.[1]

yet it was

ould be wise

to adopt. The queen could not order a general arrest of the aristocracy; and disaffection in a greater or less degree existed over the whole country. The upper classes were deeply opposed to the revolutionary Protestantism which Cecil and his friends were supposed to desire to introduce among them, and were agitated with a fear, which amounted to a disease, of a disputed succession after Elizabeth's death She could not throw herself on the patriotism of the nation, as her father did when Pole was preaching a crusade. In the absence of any distinct act which could be openly charged against Mary Stuart, it was unsafe to take her out of the hands of Lord Shrewsbury. Whatever

doubts might be entertained of Shrewsbury's fidelity, Elizabeth thought it necessary to her position to be still able to tell Europe that the Queen of Scots was residing with a nobleman notoriously favourable to her.

Nor could Cecil, with his utmost efforts, succeed in tracing the conspiracy distinctly to any English subject. As successive fragments of information came to his hands, he sent again and again for the Bishop of Ross, to cross-question and threaten him, but, although the whole affair from the beginning had been the bishop's contrivance, he bore the examination without flinching. He pleaded his privilege as ambassador to keep secret whatever passed between himself and his mistress. He admitted that he had commissioned Ridolfi to sue for help to her party in Scotland. "If there was any further matter in hand," he said, "no doubt it proceeded from the pope himself, who was well known to desire ardently the recovery of England to the Church, and would use all means possible to that effect." [1]

The suspicions of Cecil were not removed; he knew too much to be so easily deceived. The bishop was not set at liberty, and was sent down to the Fens in charge of the Bishop of Ely; but still nothing had been discovered on which resolute action was possible. Country gentlemen from all parts of England visited the Duke of Norfolk at Howard House, and went to and fro without interruption. The duke himself was so slightly guarded, that "at any time he could leap on horseback at his back door and ride away, and send word to the queen that he was gone." [2] His influence was supposed to be so great "that the queen's power was nothing by the side of his," [3] and that alone and without Alva's assistance he would soon be able to dictate his pleasure to her.

Thus the Spanish ambassador remained sanguine that all would still go well. The war with the Turks in the Mediterranean had interfered with the departure of the Duke of Medina, but the delay, if tantalising, would not be necessarily fatal. The refugees at Louvain expected that with the coming spring at latest they would be at home again, purging their country of the stains of heresy; and the traitors in the queen's household kept them constantly informed of every movement in the English court.[4]

[1] The Bishop of Ross before the Council at Hampton Court, August 8: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

[2] MSS. Hatfield, August 1571. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] "The rebels all expect to be in England next spring with the Duke of Alva, and then they will spoil the new ministers heretics of all they

The young Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine had been at Brussels with Alva, and it was understood that if the French government took the side of England the Guise faction would revolt. Lord Derby was said to have Catholic service in his household without disguise, and to be casting cannon in the Isle of Man. Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Hampshire, Surrey, and Sussex, were believed to be waiting only for Norfolk's instructions to rise at a moment's notice: and the queen was thought to have lost her only chance of saving herself

time to

1

rew the

ney was

being continually poured into Scotland to support the Marian faction there. From Rome, Madrid, and the Low Countries large sums had been repeatedly sent over; and France, as long as it was uncertain of Elizabeth, could not afford to be behind the rest. At the end of August, in reply to an urgent demand from the Queen of Scots, a letter of credit for 2000 crowns was forwarded for her use through La Mothe, and the ambassador handed it over to the duke to be sent on to Lord Herries. Six hundred pounds were sealed up in a bag, with instructions in cipher that the money was to be delivered to one of the Lowthers, by whom it would be conveyed across the border, and the duke's two secretaries—Higford, of whom nothing further is known, and Barker, an old favourite of Anne Boleyn—were directed to send the bag and its contents to the duke's agent in Shropshire, a man named Banister. A Shrewsbury merchant, who had

to his steward. The merchant, who suspected nothing, had almost reached Shrewsbury when the weight of the bag struck him as unusual. He opened it, found gold and a ciphered letter, and immediately returned to make known his discovery to Cecil.[2] It was just at the moment when Fitzwilliam had returned

Cecil was now satisfied that he was in the track of important discoveries. The examinations, so far as they had gone, were laid before the queen, and Elizabeth "being assured by Norfolk's manifest untruth that his offences were the greater and more dangerous," gave orders for his removal to the Tower, "there to be secluded strictly from intelligence with any persons which she knew would be in many ways attempted." [1]

Cowardice was not a common fault in an English nobleman: the first peer in the land, the head of the proud house of Howard, and the aspirant for the hand of England's expectant queen, fell upon his knees when the warrant was brought to him and cried for mercy like a poltroon. Mounted "on a footcloth nag" between Sadler and Sir Thomas Smith, and attended only by their own servants, he was led through the streets to the Tower gates amidst a crowd of women and idle boys and girls, and he was locked into a room with a set of questions to read and think over and prepare for a third examination in the morning.[2] His first step was to compromise himself still more fatally. He wrote a note to some one at Howard House desiring that all his ciphers might be collected and burnt. He gave it to an attendant at the Tower whom he believed that he had bribed. The attendant carried it to the lieutenant, by whom it was passed on to Burghley.[3]

From this moment discovery succeeded discovery with breathless rapidity. The method of inquiry, however inconsonant with modern conceptions of justice, was adapted excellently for the outrooting of the truth. In quiet times the prisoner is more considered than the state. The commonwealth is in no danger though isolated crimes be undiscovered or unpunished, and the possible suffering of one innocent person is held to be a greater evil than the occasional escape of the guilty. But the change is less due to moral improvement than to the conditions of our present life; and if we shudder at the cruelty which wrenched confessions out of strained limbs and quivering muscles, it is no less true that Elizabeth's government would have come to a swift end if her ministers had been embarrassed with modern scruples. Banister was sent for from Shrewsbury and racked. Barker yielded to terror and told all that he knew. By his directions the key was found between two tiles on the roof of Howard House which unlocked the letter of the Queen of Scots.

Each victim when he tried to equivocate was confronted with the acknowledgments of his companions, or left with papers of questions so worded as to exhibit most strongly the hopelessness of further concealment. The duke, who was abject from the first, redeemed his infamy in some slight degree by endeavouring to shield Mary Stuart. He poured out streams of unmeaning eloquence to Elizabeth and Burghley, for ever asseverating his innocence, enlarging the circle of his admissions only when forced by the confessions of his secretaries, and then wildly charging them with having sold his blood and with endeavouring to buy their own pardon at the expense of his life. The Catholic nobles lay still, paralysed by the sudden energy of the court, doubting the effect on Alva of the duke's imprisonment, and lacking courage to risk their lives by rising alone in his defence. The courtiers, the crew of traitors whom Elizabeth persisted in keeping about her person, dared not openly speak for him, but worked secretly to baffle the inquiry, gave him notice of the questions which would be asked him, and advised him as to what he should answer.[1]

But no clue which they could give him sufficed in the labyrinth in which he was involved. He staggered from falsehood to falsehood as thread by thread his connection with Ridolfi was ravelled out. First he swore that he had never spoken with or seen Ridolfi, then he said he had spoken with him once but only on personal business. Afterwards he allowed that Ridolfi had suggested treason to him, but he vowed that he had refused to listen, and he insisted positively that he had never heard from

[1] On the 23rd of September Sir Owen Hopton, the lieutenant of the Tower, enclosed the following note to Burghley, which one of the servants had been detected in attempting to deliver into the duke's hands:

"We received yours though not at that length that was desired. Your friends at court dare not deal. There are two ways to receive intelligence, both I hope trusty. You shall hear this day of something that stands you upon to be very circumspect how you do confess, for in confessing there may be much peril. Your case, for anything we can yet learn, groweth very hard. Therefore it standeth you in hand to comfort yourself as ye may; and God comfort you. We hear not whether you have well looked at the covering of your book [23]."—Sir Owen Hopton to Burghley: *MSS. Hatfield.*

The last sentence with the number refers probably to a cipher which was found on the back of a Bible in the duke's room.

The complaints of the treachery in the royal household are constant. Three-quarters of the courtiers, men and women, were in Mary Stuart's interests, and supplied her friends with information. One of Cecil's agents wrote three or four weeks later to him:—"The Papists in the realm find too much favour in the court. As long as that continueth, practising will never have end. The double-faced gentlemen, who will be Protestants at court, and in the country secret Papists, frigidam suffundunt."—Thomas Ashton to Burghley, October 23: *MSS. Domestic.*

Ridolfi since the latter left England. Here, too, he was unable to escape from the merciless Cecil. Charles Baily, it will be remembered, confessed to two letters which he had brought over addressed with the ciphers 30 and 40, which the Bishop of Ross said that he had burnt, but which in fact had been [illegible] hitherto had been [illegible]

[illegible]

names, and 30 was found to have been the Duke of Norfolk and 40 his brother-in-law Lord Lumley. By the middle of October the government had full possession of the entire secret. The remaining noblemen who had been prominently concerned in the conspiracy were traced out one after another. Lumley was sent to the Marshalsea, Southampton to the Tower, and Arundel placed under a guard at his own house. The part which the Queen of Scots had played was revealed in her own letters, of which Barker had betrayed the key. Orders went down to Sheffield that her servants should be reduced, and that she herself should be committed to close imprisonment. Shrewsbury immediately obeyed. He informed her that her transactions with Ridolfi were discovered; and he added, as a message from Elizabeth, "that her intentions and practices *against the queen and the realm did deserve a sharper dealing*, as time would shortly make clear to all the world."[1]

[illegible] "[illegible] stately spirit" never showed in sharper

[illegible]

and instead of friendship and hospitality [illegible] prison. It was true, therefore, that she had applied to the King of Spain to replace her on her own throne Those who said that she had done more were false villains and lied in their throats. The Duke of Norfolk was the Queen of England's subject, and for him she had nothing to say For herself, she was a free princess, the Queen of England's equal, and was answerable neither to her nor to any other person" In Lord Shrewsbury's presence she called her secretary to her, and bade him go tell the King of France how he had seen her treated. She wrote to Cecil to say that she had loyally kept to the engage-

[1] Mary Stuart to La Mothe, September 8: LABANOFF, vol. iii. Notes in Cecil's hand, October 22: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

ments into which she had entered with him and Sir Walter Mildmay, and was ill rewarded for her good faith. She wrote to La Mothe that her life was in danger. If his master intended to move in her behalf, he must do it then or never. She took leave of her dismissed attendants as if she was never to see them more, and she asked for a priest to prepare her for the death which she confessed to expect.[1]

Neither anger nor pathos moved Shrewsbury, who, whatever may have been his past hesitation, was now determined to be faithful to his mistress. Mary Stuart's correspondence was effectively crushed. A lad was detected in bringing dangerous letters to her concealed in a staff. She was at once confined to a single room, the bolts were taken off the doors, and she was watched day and night. Even the linen of herself and her ladies was passed to the wash through the hands of male inspectors, the women of the castle being all devoted to her, and the observance of common decorum being no longer safe or possible. Shrewsbury told Cecil that "those should buy her dearly who should get her from his hands; if five thousand men tried to rescue her he would give them such a banquet as they should repent that they had come to Sheffield."[2]

The Bishop of Ross was then called up again from the country. Cecil had waited till the case was complete against him. Elizabeth's tenderness to the sovereign rights of the Queen of Scots had permitted him to remain at the court with the privileges of an ambassador. He had abused his liberty to be the arch contriver of a gigantic conspiracy, and the law officers of the crown, when consulted by Cecil, gave as their opinions, first, that the representative of a prince or princess lawfully deposed possessed no privileges at all; and secondly, that an ambassador who could be proved to have moved a rebellion in the country to which he was accredited, had forfeited his protection and might be proceeded against as a private person.[3] Thus fortified, the council ordered that the bishop should be brought back to London. They told him briefly that his practices had been fully discovered, and that unless he answered truly to the questions which would be put to him, "he should be made to suffer to the example and terror of all others."

The bishop was a brave man: on his way up out of Cambridge-

[1] Mary Stuart to La Mothe, September 8, September 18: to Cecil, September 9; to the Archbishop of Glasgow, September 18: LABANOFF, vol. iii.

[2] Shrewsbury to Cecil, October 24: *MSS*. QUEEN OF SCOTS.

[3] Opinions on the privileges of ambassadors, October 17: MURDIN.

shire he had received a message from La Mothe that the duke had confessed to no particulars, and that he might stand out in a general denial. He assumed a high tone. He declared [illegible]

his answer had been anticipated and provided for, and that his privileges were not to be respected He was allowed two days to consider what he would do, and he was supplied with proofs that La Mothe had been mistaken, and that much, if not all, of the transactions with Ridolfi was really known. Had he been aware that Elizabeth had refused to allow him to be tortured, he might have remained obstinate;[1] but he saw before him the rack and perhaps the scaffold, and when the time allowed him had elapsed, he followed the example of the secretaries, and confessed to all which was important that he knew.

The secrets of the last four years were thus one by one cleared up. The bishop, for the first time, explained fully to Cecil the private history of the conference at York, the original design for the Norfolk marriage; the manœuvres to suppress the letters and prevent an exposure which would stain his mistress's character. He admitted his own and the duke's connection with the rebellion of the north, and described the causes which [illegible]

wich. He did not conceal the names of the noblemen who had specially committed themselves with promises to join in the insurrection. Finally, he wrote to the Queen of Scots to tell her that all was over, and advised her to do as he had done, and give up conspiracies "He was very sorry," he said, "that they had ever meddled with such things" "The discovery had been made by God's providence, that for the future her majesty

t trust only in God and her good sister;" and while making an breast of it, he admitted to Doctor Wilson her share in murder of Darnley.[1] It was not the least of Mary Stuart's ortunes, that being accepted by the pope as a confessor for Catholic faith, she was able to dwell exclusively on the itorious aspect of her character; to forget that it had other less favourable features, and to expect the memory of the eral world to be as unretentive as her own. She was unppy also in her exaggerated belief in the power of her own quence, in her expectation that her pathetic and passionate ords would pass at all times for current coin, although her tters so frequently miscarried; and protestations of love and onfidence could be contrasted too often by the persons to whom ney were addressed, with expressions of contempt and hatred. n accident of this kind befell her in the midst of her present roubles. After chafing for a month, she sent off one of her usual rhetorical appeals to Elizabeth; and a few days later she wrote to La Mothe, declaring that Elizabeth was all falsehood and treachery, that she would rather perish than yield, and again entreating France to take her and Scotland under their protection.[2] The second letter fell into Burghley's hands. It told him nothing new, but it told him how vain was the hope that Mary Stuart could be other than herself. In this humour she was to learn that the Bishop of Ross had given way, that he had admitted the true character of Ridolfi's mission, and that her protestations of integrity had been thrown away. There, in plain words, in the handwriting of her own agent, was the intimation that he had made a full confession, and the mask could be worn no longer. Shrewsbury placed the bishop's letter in her hands. "The hand," she said, "was Esau's hand, but the voice was Jacob's; the bishop had held the pen, but some one else had guided it." Then bursting into rage, she cried, "that the Bishop of Ross was a flayed and fearful priest, who had done as they would have him do;" for herself, "they should find her to be a queen, and to have the heart of a queen, with other words of her wonted miscontented manner;"[3] France and Spain, she said, would come and deliver her, and the turn of her enemies should come.

[1] The Bishop of Ross to the Queen of Scots, November 8; Doctor Wilson to Burghley, November 8: *Hatfield MSS.* *Printed by* MURDIN.

[2] Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, October 29; to La Mothe, November LABANOFF.

[3] Shrewsbury to Cecil, November 23, 1571; Sadler to Cecil, January 1572: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Alas! France was but congratulating itself that the discovery of her danger might frighten Elizabeth into a renewed desire to marry one of its princes; and Alva, on the news of Norfolk's arrest, had driven Ridolfi from the court, and had determined to leave to God the settlement of a matter in which the pope assured him that God was profoundly interested. It was with the utmost unwillingness that either the pope or Philip could part with a project on which their imagination had dwelt so passionately. Alva laid the fault on Ridolfi. Ridolfi complained at the Vatican that the fault was Alva's in refusing to allow the letters which he had written from Brussels, on his return from Spain, to be delivered. The pope still urged Philip, and Philip, still harping upon God, believed that it was not yet too late. Angels, he thought, would fight for the good cause, and he could not stand by while the Catholics were persecuted into apostasy; Hawkins, too, the great admiral, was on their side, and was himself an army; if there was danger in making the venture [illegible] also in remaining passive.[1] [illegible] trust in Hawkins, could move [illegible]ly anxiety was to shake himself free from the clamours and complaints of the refugees.[2]

[1] Philip to Alva, September [illegible]

[illegible] although the queen is not acting as in justice she ought to do, yet she has made it impossible for us to attempt anything with a hope of success. I have gone to a great expense in preparing for the expedition. His majesty bade me spare nothing, and all is lost I fear we have been [illegible]

From Spain there was no longer hope, and the Queen of Scots' expectations from France were not likely to be improved, as the Spanish character of the conspiracy in which she had been involved became more fully revealed. The superstitions of Anjou had been worked upon by the Cardinal of Lorraine, but if Anjou continued obstinate, there was still Alençon; and the discovery of the precipice on which she was standing appeared to reawaken Elizabeth to the importance of the arguments by which Cecil was pressing the marriage upon her with one or other of the brothers. M. de Foix had come to England in August, to talk her out of her objections, and had returned to Paris with imperfect success; but the council, one after another, impressed upon her their conviction that she ought to overcome her reluctance. Sir Walter Mildmay spoke of it as "the weightiest cause she had ever had in hand;" Sussex trusted that "she would now see that she must look to herself, and make France sure by a husband;" and she appeared so far moved as to allow Cecil to inform Walsingham that the religious difficulty was not insuperable. Walsingham consulted de Foix. After mature consideration they both agreed that it would be unwise to "wade further" with Anjou. Elizabeth "might find herself forsaken," "an opinion which would prove dangerous." It would be better to assume that negotiation to have come to an amicable end, and "to hide the imperfections of both parties, not knowing what would follow."[1] Mary Stuart's intrigues with Spain, however, had created a violent exasperation at the French court, had given a fresh impulse to the war party, and made the king and the queen-mother more anxious than ever for Elizabeth's alliance. To all entreaties to send help to Mary Stuart in Scotland, the king now returned only cold denials. The admiral was sent for to Paris: Catherine de Medici took him in her arms and kissed him, and Charles received him as if among his subjects there was not one whom he so much honoured.[2] The queen-mother, after being assured by Walsingham that no wanton or needless objections would be raised, resolved formally to propose Alençon in the place of his brother; and she desired La Mothe to tell Elizabeth that, although religious difficulties had interfered with the marriage which she had before hoped to arrange, she had another son who would

have made use are deposited by the consent of the trustees in the British Museum.

[1] Walsingham to Cecil, September 26 and October 8: *MSS. France.*

[2] La Mothe Fénelon au Roy, September 30: *Dépêches*, vol. iv. La Roy au M. de la Mothe Fénelon, October 20: *Ibid.* vol. vii.

be troubled with no scruples. Anjou was seventeen years younger than the Queen of England, Alençon was two years younger than his brother; and de Foix feared that the substitution "would but breed disdain;" but Elizabeth was far too adroit to make so poor a use of her advantage. Her wish was to escape marriage but secure a league; and the effect produced by the new offer was to make her now pretend to an extreme eagerness for the marriage with Anjou, which she knew, or believed, that Anjou's obstinacy would make impossible. Leicester echoed the queen, and made a parade of disinterestedness: he declared that he as well as his mistress were aware of the necessity for the marriage, and that all concessions should be made to secure it.[1]

The manœuvre answered the purpose. The French court perhaps desired to persuade itself of Elizabeth's sincerity; for the present the two governments appeared every day to be drawing closer together; and the prospect of interference from France in behalf of Mary Stuart was more remote than ever. A regret [illegible]
sense of [illegible]
for self-s[illegible]
that the [illegible]
innocent boy, and the ridicule which attaches to unequal marriages in private life has no place in marriages of state. Although it must remain uncertain whether the infernal bigotry which burst loose in the following year in Paris could have been held under effective restraint, yet those who saw that crisis coming upon them believed at the time that by the marriage of the Queen of England with one of these princes, and by that alone, fetters would have been forged of sufficient strength to bind it. The attention of the people would have reverted to the old current, national enthusiasm would have taken the place of religious bigotry; and France and England, linked together by a stronger bond than words, would have freed the Netherlands from Spain The Catholic states of Germany could have been swept into the stream of the Reformation, and

[1] "I find now a full determination in her majesty to like of marriage, and to my judgment she is resolved not to refuse any reasonable conditions that shall be offered [illegible] So she earnestly [illegible] y the same, with [illegible] messenger to the [illegible] opened her mind [illegible] taken his leave [illegible] to Walsingham, December 6: DIGGES.

Europe might have escaped the Thirty Years' War and the Revolution of '89.

If it be supposed that public interest, however great, could not have required the queen to devote her person and happiness in a union which she disliked, there is no excuse for the false and foolish trifling which exhausted the patience and irritated the pride of the royal family of France, and weakened the already too feeble barriers which were keeping back the tide of Catholic fury.

The reader will always turn with pleasure from Elizabeth's matrimonial insincerities. At home she submitted more entirely to Cecil's guidance, and thus bore herself with a dignity and a wisdom more becoming in an English sovereign.

It appeared beyond doubt that the body of the peers had in various degrees been parties to the Ridolfi conspiracy. Many causes had been at work among them—some were Catholic, some semi-Catholic, whose differences with Rome were merely political; and deeper with most of them than any religious feeling was the dread of a disputed succession. They had examined, and had not dared to challenge, the proofs which connected Mary Stuart with the Kirk-a-Field tragedy; but excuses could not be wanting where there was a wish to find them. The Queen of Scots was young, she had been led away; others were as guilty as she was; and, guilt or no guilt, the sacred blood of the Plantagenets was in her veins, and she was next of kin to the crown. As Elizabeth refused to marry and refused to name a successor, they had passed from discontent to treason. They had meditated an open rebellion, which all elements of dissatisfaction—civil, social, political, and religious—had united to stimulate, and they had invited a foreign power to assist them in overthrowing the queen's government and the liberties of their country at a single blow. A scheme of the same kind had been formed in the past generation by the Marquis of Exeter, the Nevilles, Lady Salisbury, and her traitor sons. Elizabeth's father, supported by the hearty confidence of the people, had called the whole nation under arms, and had struck the heads of the chief conspirators from their shoulders before their projects were matured. The position of the present government was far more precarious. The progress of the revolution had fostered a crop of discontents which then were in their germ. The Catholics throughout all Europe had recovered from the paralysis into which they had been thrown by the first burst of the Reformation. A general spirit of disloyalty had

penetrated every section of society: the leaders were arrested, but a dangerous humour was abroad, in the north especially, which at any moment might break again into flame;[1] and, since Pembroke's death, Elizabeth had no one in her council who could be relied on to command in the field with any general sympathy from the country. Her ministers were chiefly civilians who had risen from the ranks with the new order of things. Leicester was detested and despised, and was half a traitor to boot; Bedford was in bad health; Bacon was a mere lawyer; Cecil was infinitely able and infinitely popular with the Protestants; but he was not a soldier, and by the Catholics he was as much hated as Cromwell had been. If it came to blows it might well be doubted whether men like these could hold their ground against the retainers of the hereditary English chiefs, around whose persons was concentrated the traditional loyalty of centuries. Such men as Norfolk and Arundel were as sovereigns in their own counties. To the Howards and Fitzalans the Tudors themselves were but the mushroom growth of yesterday; and to attempt to crush treason by force when the leading nobles were at the head of the conspiracy, was only one degree less dangerous than to pass it over unpunished.

Norfolk was the chief offender. Norfolk was the intending husband of the Queen of Scots. Norfolk had given the commission to Ridolfi, and his crime was surrounded with every circumstance of ignominy and dishonour. He, an English

to betray the Protestants who trusted him. For the fanatic who conceives that he has a duty to God which supersedes his earthly —but no plea Nor among o distinguish truth from falsehood. He was a Catholic to the pope

victions, or whether he possessed any real convictions, remains after all uncertain. With Arundel, Southampton, Lumley, and

[1] "The people have been put in comfort of a change, and now they *stand but looking for one that would say Husse. These countries are most* apt to evil, as where the practising Papists have most their conventicles." —Thomas Ashton of Shrewsbury to Burghley, October 23: *MSS. Domestic.*

ne Stanleys, both prudence and a natural disinclination to everity induced Elizabeth to pause. Norfolk she determined o bring to trial. A commission was appointed to revise the evidence against him and draw up his indictment. The exposure of his falsehood would, it might be hoped, compel even the unwilling peers for very shame to admit his guilt.

Meantime there was another ambassador whose complicity came out with no less clearness than that of the Bishop of Ross. Doctor Man had been dismissed with scanty courtesy from Madrid; Sir Henry Cobham had been received by Philip with studied insolence. There was an opportunity for repaying the Spanish court in kind, and ridding England of a minister whose residence had been one continued plot against the throne. Don Guerau was summoned before the council. He was told that his practices had been discovered; in the three years which he had spent in England he had never ceased to trouble the quiet of the realm: the queen would no longer endure his presence, and he must be gone without delay.[1] Don Guerau, savage with disappointment, turned on Burghley, and said he was the cause of all the unkindness between his master and the queen. Bu Burghley was now supreme again. The order was coldly re peated, and he was allowed four days to prepare for departur

There were two sides to the question. The ambassado looking back over the history of the same three years, mig well believe that the balance of right was in his own and in h master's favour. He knew, better than Elizabeth herself, t reluctance with which the King of Spain had accepted quarrel which had been forced upon him, and the earnestr with which he had resisted the importunities of the cour Rome and his own subjects. His coasts had been plunde his commerce destroyed, his colonies outraged by En desperadoes, in whose adventures the queen herself wa interested shareholder. The seizure of his treasure at mouth and Southampton was an act of piracy on a gig scale, committed by the government itself. The E harbours had been the home of the Dutch privateer fleet; built in England, armed in England, and manned by Englis had held the Channel under the flag of the Prince of O and if Alva attempted to interfere with them they were sh by English batteries. Their plunder was sold openly markets, the royal purveyors being occasional purchase

[1] Words to be said to the Spanish ambassador, December 1– *Spain.*

Dover had been made a second Algiers, where Spanish gentlemen had been set up in chains for public auction. The King [illegible]

[illegible]

honour and their cause by preferring the assassin's dagger. To the same ill resource the ambassador, now at his last extremity, applied himself. The mine which had been dug and loaded so carefully had been discovered and harmlessly sprung; the excommunicated queen, the insolent Burghley, the heretics, and the buccaneers, had once more triumphed; Norfolk was to be tried for his life; the experienced Spaniard could not hope that the Queen of Scots would be spared; he was himself ordered away in disgrace, yet one bold stroke might repair everything. Cecil—the false, lowborn, but most dexterous Cecil; the arrogant islander who believed that England united might defy the power of the whole world [1]—Cecil was the soul of Elizabeth's government: were Cecil gone all might yet be saved

In times of civil commotion there are never wanting persons who, under the influence of vanity, are ready for the most desperate enterprises There were present in London, and known to the Spanish ambassador, two young gentlemen from Norwich named Berney and Mather, who, after drifting about Europe in various services, had come to England to take part in the rebellion. Kenelm Berney had gone abroad to escape justice for some previous murder Mather had been secretary successively to Sir Henry Norris and to Sir N Throgmorton in France. His father was a merchant in good circumstances: he had himself glittered about courts, pushing himself by all ways into notoriety, and with such a hunger for what he called fame that, as one of his brother secretaries said of him, "he could content himself with nothing less than shaking a kingdom."[2] On a smaller scale he resembled Thomas Stukely, and like Stukely had thought of Ireland as a field for his ambition, when

[1] "Hombre de baja gente, astuto, falso, mentiroso, y lleno de todo engaño, grande herege, y tan vaño Ingles que cree todos los Principes Christianos no ser parte por hacer daño al Señor de aquella Isla; este trae la massa de los negocios, en los quales con gran diligencia y astucia [illegible] ministros [illegible]"—Relacion [illegible]

[R]idolfi conspiracy came in his way and gave him the oppor[tunit]y for which he was looking.

[B]eing Berney's fellow-townsman, and knowing him to be ready [to] his hand, he sent for him from France, and the two friends [wer]e looking about them for some means of employing their [tale]nts. Like the rest of the Catholics, they bewailed the mis[for]tune which had placed so poor a creature as the Duke of [No]rfolk at their head.[1] As time passed on and the chances of [ins]urrection grew fainter, Mather became restless and impatient, [an]d accident or intention brought him in contact with the [It]alian secretary of the Spanish ambassador named Borghesi, [w]ho had perhaps been ordered to look out for a fit person for Don Guerau's purpose. Alva had pointed to Elizabeth as the mark to be aimed at; but Elizabeth was difficult to get at, and Don Guerau had come to think the queen was but the cipher to which Burghley was the governing number. One night in the autumn Borghesi brought in Mather to his master, and the ambassador receiving him as a Catholic gentleman who would sympathise in the general disappointment, began to talk of Scotland and the noblemen in the Tower and Burghley and Burghley's policy. Burghley, he said, "held the helm and did all in all;" and then with a glance at his guest exclaimed, "Men must all die, and a noble death is better than a shameful life. Oh for some man of spirit who would kill that wretch and cut him in pieces!"[2]

The fire was thus lighted, and Borghesi as Mather left the house threw fresh fuel upon it. "It was a fine thing to die sword in hand," he said; "and if Burghley was taken away, all would go well." Mather asked him if he thought it could be done: Borghesi said that a resolute man could do it with ease. "Then," cried Mather, "I will do some service to the common cause, or it shall cost me my life."[3] He went home to his companion swelling with hope and pride, and together they sat into the night talking of "how good it was to have a name and die famous." They reminded one another of Poltro[t]

[1] "Mather, sitting by the fireside, said the duke was a beast and a coward that when he was in his country he did not take arms. Then he might have married the Scotch queen and have altered the State."—Co[n]fession of Kenelm Berney: MURDIN.

[2] The ambassador said, "Perche un huomo ha da morire, è me[glio] prender una honorata morte che vivere una vituperiosa vita. Biso[gna] che qualche huomo di spirito ammazza e taglia in pezzi," adjoining the[reto] an injurious word, "poltrono."—Confession of Mather, January 8: *M[SS.] Hatfield*.

[3] Ibid.

and Bothwellhaugh and of the mean men who governed England, while sparks of metal like themselves were passed by without employment. Regicide in some aspects presented the most temptation. "To kill a sovereign would make their fame immortal." "The queen's beefs" were poor creatures whom a handful of determined men could easily despatch and the rest of the household were "perfumed minions such as the vile woman kept about her to feed her fantasy."[1] But Don Guerau kept them to the easier and in his eyes no less important business of killing Cecil; and to this they addressed themselves. The four days' grace allowed Don Guerau were for some cause extended, and gave him the chance of staying in England till the deed was done. Three times in the first week in January the assassins were lurking in the garden of Cecil House where Burghley was accustomed to walk. They observed his study window and the position of his head when he sat at work as a mark for a blunderbus. Horses were kept saddled on both sides of the Thames, and a boat lay ever ready at the stairs at Charing Cross. Yet day passed after day and Cecil still lived, and it seemed as if Chapin Vitelli had rightly judged the English character. Some disease of conscience or want of boldness in a bad cause made Englishmen the worst conspirators in the world. The preparations for flight required confederates, and one of them, or perhaps Mather himself in an interval of remorse, wrote to Cecil to put him on his guard.[2] The warning brought no information to the intended victim He had already discovered what it told him, for his own traitorous agent of the

[illegible]

Marshalsea, Herle, had found his way among the confederates. They had a week in which they might have done their work, but they let it pass, and it was then too late. Cecil calmly watched them till he had the clue in his hands to all their proceedings; and then a company of the city guard dropped upon the nest, and Mather, Berney, and their friends were transferred to the Tower dungeons. The Spanish ambassador had been forced to leave London before their capture; but he had lingered at Canterbury under pretence of waiting for letters from the Duke of Alva; and on him too the ever-present eye was fixed, penetrating, when least he dreamed of it, into his inmost secrets. Sir John Hawkins, who was still in the eyes of Philip and his ministers the faithful servant of Holy Church and the Queen of Scots, was sent with Sir Francis Knollys to take charge of him as far as Calais. He persuaded the ambassador that he had duped Cecil into giving him the appointment that he might be of use to his Catholic friends, and the harassed Don Guerau opened his heart to Hawkins in return.[1]

[1] The following letter, written by Don Guerau from Canterbury to Philip, shows, besides its general interest, how entirely he was free from suspicion of Hawkins's treachery:—

"The queen and council, or rather the Lord Burghley who alone rules all, sent a secretary to tell me I must leave London on Christmas Eve, alluding repeatedly with sufficient discourtesy to our treatment of Doctor Man. I said what I thought necessary, but I was obliged to comply. I waited nine or ten days at Gravesend, where I was joined by Hawkins and Fitzwilliam, who came with orders from the queen to see me across to Calais. Hawkins, who is sincerely anxious to serve your majesty, is of great use to me—far different from Knollys, who is an accursed heretic and communicates daily by post with the Lord Burghley. The queen means to try the Duke of Norfolk at once, and that is the cause of my being sent with so much haste out of the country. I have said that without permission from your majesty or the Duke of Alva I will not go unless I am forced. So that I am still here, the posts flying to and fro, and Burghley insisting that I am making excuses for remaining. This gentleman is so frightened that nothing can reassure him. He has received threatening letters, and he tells the queen that if I am in England during the trial, the country will not be safe. The queen means to sell all property of ours which is in her hands. The owners may have it at the price at which it will be valued. If your majesty or the Duke of Medina will send commissioners with unlimited powers something may be done; but the sale at all events will go forward. It is all done in contempt of your majesty; and if this league with France come to anything, they will deal even worse with us. Messengers pass every hour between Paris and London; and that king has, without doubt, offered to make an alliance, offensive and defensive, with England. The details only remain to be settled. Walsingham writes everything to Hawkins, and Hawkins tells it to me and shows me the council's letters. The thing is at present incomplete, and it may be prevented yet if his holiness will exert himself. If not, means must be found to prevent the English from getting good by it. It is said here that the King of France gave money secretly to

Thus all parties to the intended murder, the instigator and the instruments, were alike in Cecil's hands; and one morning, while the ambassador was still putting off his departure in the hope of hearing great news from Mather, he was confounded by an intimation from Sir Francis Knollys that a conspiracy had been discovered, and that his secretary's presence was required in London. He was "greatly appalled," especially when he was told further that Mather had been arrested and had made a full confession. He tried to shield Borghesi, but Knollys gave him to understand that the man was wanted, not to be punished, but only to answer certain questions. Don Guerau smiled grimly,[1] complained of his grievous handling, and submitted. In a few days his secretary was restored uninjured, and he made his way to Brussels to join the English refugees in once more entreating the Spanish leader to move before it was too late.

The Duke of Alva was most unwilling to allow himself to be addressed upon the subject, fearing perhaps that it would injure the few chances of life which remained to the unfortunate Norfolk. The refugees pressed to be heard, however; and at length Westmoreland, Egremont, Radcliff, Morley, and a throng of priests were admitted to an audience with the Countess of Northumberland at their head, and presented their petition.[2]

It was the old story of persecution and tyranny. Alva's opinion of the English Catholics, never favourable at best, was at its lowest ebb. Elizabeth still lived—Burghley still lived—and none of those confident boasters had had the courage to remove them out of his path. Had they been unanimous, under the existing circumstances he would have been deaf to their remonstrances. His unwillingness at that moment was encouraged by Leonard Dacres and his friends, whose hate for

Lord Fleming to be used in the defence of Edinburgh, not wishing to [illegible]

majesty of all which I think may be done, and by what means, in case of rupture with the French, we may transfer the war hither"

[1] "He smiled somewhat, although it seemed to be risus Sardonicus mixed with some fear."—Sir F. Knollys to Burghley, January 16: *MSS. Spain.*

[2] Sanders, in a letter to the Earl of Northumberland, says that "the countess was forced to press upon the duke's grace even against his will." —*MSS. Flanders.*

rfolk reconciled them to the probability of his execution, and
ho were persuading Alva to lend them troops and money for
n expedition to Scotland.[1] The duke replied with cold courtesy
at he was a servant, and could not act without his master's
rders; and the unfortunates, unable to part with their cherished
opes—unable to understand how a conquest which every one
ut lately had imagined to be so easy should have suddenly
become impossible—carried their supplications to Philip.

"They had insisted from the beginning," they said, "that
there would be no quiet in Flanders till England was again
Catholic, and events had proved that they were right. The
country was distracted. The queen was despised as a 'harlot,'
and hated for the obstinacy with which, in refusing to allow the
succession to be settled, she exposed her subjects to the chances
of civil war at her death. Should the Queen of England be
deposed and killed, she had no heirs to avenge her quarrel,
while the Queen of Scots was pitied and loved, and had a son
to inherit her rights. The merchants were furious at the ruin
of their commerce; Ireland was disaffected; and in England
there was not a fortified port or an experienced soldier. They
had but to land with the King of Spain's authority for the
whole people to flock to them. The queen's own troops would
desert her: one victory, and all was their own. An army of
priests would go back with them to feed their starving flocks;
and as Elizabeth had made Flanders serve her turn, so Philip
might make use of England. There was needed but a little
money and a little courage, and the king might provide Do
John of Austria with a kingdom, and Spain with better neigh
bours. He might crush the Flanders rebels, reconcile ha
Europe to the Church, save his own credit, and restore God
His honour." [2]

[1] "Leonard Dacres, who, as it is reported, liketh well of the proce
ings against the Duke of Norfolk, hath had of late conferences with
Duke of Alva. It is said he hath gotten grant of three thousand
well appointed, which shall shortly be conveyed to Scotland, with cer
great pieces of artillery, and a promise of so much money as shal
sufficient to pay them during three months."—John Lee to Burg
February 4: *MSS. Flanders*.

[2] Reasons to persuade the King of Spain to invade England, Febr
1572: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS. Don Guerau supported the petition
a memoir which he had ineffectually submitted to the Duke of
"Flanders," said Don Guerau, "can never be at peace till the Go
ment of England is changed. Cecil would have had open war w
had not others on the council prevented him. He seized the treas
drive our army into mutiny for want of their pay—'para incom
quanto fuese posible el pagamento del ejercito á Flandes.' He enco
the pirates in plundering our commerce. He has turned the rest

So the poor Catholics pleaded, to little purpose Philip was willing to help them, but allowed himself to be guided by Alva; and Alva had not the slightest confidence in men who talked as if England was at their devotion, yet were unable to set foot upon its soil unless escorted by an army of strangers. It was universally believed that the Queen of Scots would now be execute[illegible] The appeals of the [illegible] atherine were equally [illegible] a cheap price [illegible]

[illegible] of Don Guerau was correct, that Elizabeth was a cipher in the hands of Burghley, the best grace she had to look for was a priest to make her ready for her end.

Norfolk's turn came first, however; and with him Burghley could write that "the queen would deal more substantially than many did imagine"[3] Among the peers by whom the duke would have to be tried, many would inevitably have to take their seats as his judges who were in heart as guilty as himself; but care was taken that there should be at least a majority on

treaty to smoke, and he is now at work at an alliance with France. Cecil [illegible]

[illegible]

February 8: *MSS Simancas*

[2] "En estos" (the king and his queen-mother) "no halla el dicho Embajador amparo ny asistencia alguna, aunque le dan mil esperanzas, pero todo son mentiras, dandole á entender no solamente que proveeran esto y otro, pero que lo han ya proveydo y halla ser todo falso, y ya no sabe que hacerse"—Secretario Aguilon á Felipe IIdo, December 5: TEULET, vol. v.

[3] "Surely so long as that devilish woman liveth, neither her majesty [illegible]

it would have silenced the murmurs of the Catholic world, but she had forced the Scots to suffer also the disadvantage of a doubtful cause. Now, at length, she withdrew her prohibition. A narrative of the events which had led to the Queen of Scots' deposition was drawn up by George Buchanan.[1] Versions of the casket letters in French and Latin were attached to the narrative, and the whole was printed under the title of "The Detection of the Doings of Mary [illegible] of her Husband, and her [illegible] Marriage with the Earl B[illegible] Scotland, England, and the European courts. La Mothe complained to Elizabeth, but the queen declined to interfere.[2] She had shielded the Queen of Scots too long for her own safety, and Mary Stuart's mode of recognising the obligation was not calculated to encourage her to persist further. Sir Thomas Smith, who had gone to Paris to assist Walsingham in the negotiation of the league, explained to the French council that the time for forbearance was passed, that the English government was now resolute, and that if the Queen of Scots gave any more trouble the difficulties about her would be promptly ended.[3]

With these precautions, and with the gauntlet as it were flung down to Catholic Europe, Westminster Hall was once more

[1] The vituperative eloquence which has been poured upon Buchanan's "Detectio" has failed to expose a single serious error in it, and in the [illegible]

prepared for a trial for high treason. On the 16th of January, at half-past eight in the morning, Lord Shrewsbury, with the peers, judges, and lords of the council, took their places; a lane was formed through the crowd at the lower part of the hall, and the duke was led in between the lieutenant of the Tower and Sir Peter Carew; the Tower chamberlain following with the axe reversed.

The duke was not so wholly degenerate but that in public and on great occasions he could bear himself in a manner worthy of his blood; as he came forward to the bar he ran his eyes rapidly over the noblemen who were to try him, bit his lip, and drew himself haughtily up.

The indictment charged him with conspiring the deposition and death of the queen, with having endeavoured to bring foreign armies into England, to change the government, and alter the religion established in the realm; with having sought to marry the Queen of Scots, knowing that she laid claim to the crown, contrary to his allegiance, contrary to the queen's command, and in violation of his own plighted word.

In detail he was accused of having assisted the rebels who had fled to Scotland after the late insurrection; of having in the March preceding sent Ridolfi to Rome, to Spain, and to the Duke of Alva, to concert measures for an invasion; and of himself intending to raise a fresh rebellion in England. He had corresponded since Ridolfi's departure both with him and the pope, and had received "promises of help and assistance in the said wicked enterprise for the setting up of the said Mary late Queen of Scots."

The duke, being required to plead, demanded the assistance of counsel. It was objected that in cases of high treason

no other king nor queen in Scotland but her; and if she had done evil there was somewhat to be borne because she was kept so long in prison.

"That is true, quoth I,
"'Flectere si nequeo Superos Acheronta movebo;'

but if the devil be called to help, it is reason she has the devil's reward. In sum, rather than this should trouble the treaty, or the realm of Scotland be in longer dissention for this cause, or the queen my mistress should not once have an end of the mischief and hurt that she hath hitherto brought, I know one expedient that shall soon make an end of this debate. Her majesty shall follow the advice of her council, the wise men of her realm. She shall take her head from her shoulders as justly she may do.

"This appalled them so much, they had no more to say but that they thought better of the queen's clemency and gentleness than so, although they could not deny that the Scotch queen had deserved no such things at her majesty's hands, and they thought her guilty of all that was laid to her charge."—Sir T. Smith to Burghley, January 17: *MSS. France.*

counsel was not allowed; but he said that the indictment was complicated; "he found himself entangled in a herd of laws," so that he did not know to what he was to answer; and he referred to the trial of Sir Humphrey Stafford, to whom, in a similar case, the indulgence for which he asked had been conceded.[1]

[illegible] was legitimately violated.

The duke, with a slight protest, submitted to the judgment of the court, and inquired whether he must plead to the whole indic[illegible] offer [illegible]

D[illegible] himself to the lord steward, "he trusted he might have justice, and not be overlaid with speeches Had he so pleased, he needed not to have been standing where he was; but he had preferred rather to abide his trial, than by a cowardly running away to leave a gap open to his enemies to slander him." Trusting to the absence of direct proof against him, he argued that he ought not to be pressed with circumstantial evidence. He said that he was unlearned and uneloquent, and that his memory was weak. He was ready and able to encounter only special charges of literal treason.

But a prisoner was not to be allowed to dictate the form of his prosecution. The case was exceedingly elaborate, involving the history of his proceedings from the time when he was sent as commissioner to York; and the story is too well known to the reader to require repetition It is enough to say, that the government was acquainted with every important fact in the whole of it. The duke fought over each detail, with a minuteness which showed that he had undervalued his powers. The confession of the Bishop of Ross was read to him. He said the bishop was a false Scot, and cared not how many innocent Englishmen he might bring to destruction He was reminded

[1] Ao 1. Hen. VII. Stafford and his brother had held out against Henry VII. for a few months after Bosworth. Finding their cause hopelessly lost, they took refuge in a sanctuary near Abingdon, from which they were forcibly removed and were hanged at Tyburn.

of his promise to deal no more with the Queen of Scots. He could not deny that promise, and he could not deny that he had broken it. It was proved, also, that after leaving the court in Hampshire he had listened to a proposal to seize the Tower, and had gone down to Norfolk with a half-formed intention of rebellion.[1]

One witness only was produced in court, Lord Shrewsbury's stepson, Richard Cavendish, Leicester's agent with the Queen of Scots, who finding that times were changing turned round upon his friends and swore that the duke had told him beforehand of the intended rising in the north.

To this the duke answered that Cavendish was a lying slave; but the conviction was left upon the court, and as the reader knows with entire justice, that he was aware of the earls' purpose and at least had not revealed it.

Ridolfi's commission came next. To those who have seen what that commission contained, and the exquisite baseness which it revealed in Norfolk's character, the evidence with which the portions of it known to the government were brought home to him can have but little interest. Either treason is an imaginary crime, or few political offenders have deserved the scaffold more emphatically than the Duke of Norfolk. The commission itself, however, never reached the hands of the council. They knew no more than its general purport, the sketch of it contained in the letters of the Queen of Scots which had been found under the mat, and as much as could be learned from the confessions of the secretaries and the Bishop of Ross. The duke denied everything, and swore that both the bishop and his secretaries were lying. He was asked to explain, if he was innocent, the letters which he had written to them from the Tower entreating them not to confess. He was of course silent. The confessions all agreed, and not a doubt remained that the troops of Alva had been invited with the duke's consent to land at Harwich.

[1] Among other fragments of evidence which came out upon the trial, it appeared that the duke had been playing with "a blind prophecy," something like Owen Glendower's "clipwinged dragon and finless fish." The words are:—

"In exaltatione Lunæ Leo succumbet, et Leo cum Leone conjungetur et catuli eorum regnabunt." The duke had interpreted them thus:—

"At the exaltation of the moon, which was the rising of the Earl of Northumberland, 'the lion,' the queen's majesty, shall be overthrown. Then shall the lion be joined with the lion—*i.e.* the Duke of Norfolk with the Queen of Scotland, for they both bore lions in their arms, and their whelps shall reign."—Trial of the Duke of Norfolk: *State Trials*, vol. i.

and had done hi s, they might as they were never so swinged in their lives.

"This point," says an eyewitness, "Mr. Attorney spoke with had lish- his

but more point—"the duke said that the witnesses had spoken falsely, but their evidence had been taken separately in a great variety of complicated details, and it was all entirely consistent. Of what value, on the other side, was the duke's assertion? He had broken his oath as commissioner at York, he had broken his promise to the queen, he had denied in his examinations what he had afterwards admitted to be true; it was not for the Duke of Norfolk to stand upon discrediting of witnesses and advancing his own credit which he had so much decayed."

The prosecution closed, and Shrewsbury asked the duke what more he had to say. And what could he say? If indeed the Queen of Scots was an innocent woman—and the duke, if anyone, knew the truth about her—he might have appealed to the broad principles of justice; he might have proclaimed, in the

before a secret tribunal in the dungeons of the Tower He was at the open bar in Westminster Hall, in the presence of the English nation, and the words that he uttered there might be carried to every fireside in the land. Had no other evidence survived, were there no letters, no witnesses, no sworn depositions of those who had lived through the whole of that Scottish tragedy and knew it in all its parts, the silence of Norfolk at this the supreme moment of his own fate and Mary Stuart's, would be proof sufficient against her in the minds of all persons who can think upon the subject with reasonable modesty. The

duke knew the truth, and the truth made him dumb; he could but say that he trusted to God and his own consciousness of loyalty.

The lords withdrew, the high sheriff remaining in his chair. The winter day had long departed. The hall was faintly lighted with pine torches. At eight o'clock, after an absence of an hour and quarter, they returned, and one by one gave in the fatal verdict of guilty on all the counts. The counsel for the crown prayed sentence; and Shrewsbury, in the usual dreadful terms, told the duke that he must die. Then, perhaps for the first time, his misdeeds came home to him. Conspiracy had presented itself to him in the disguise of piety and chivalry. He had dreamed of saving his country from the upstarts who were dragging the crown into ignominious alliance with revolution and heresy, of laying to rest the threatening spectre of civil war, and settling the vexed succession question. The sleep was broken, the vision was faded, and there remained only the axe, the scaffold, the masked headsman, and six feet of earth in the chapel of the Tower.

"This is the judgment of a traitor," he said, "and I shall die as true a man as any that liveth." He beat his breast wildly. "Do not ask for my life," he cried, "I do not desire to live. My lords, as you have put me out of your company I trust shortly to be in better company; only I beseech you intercede with the queen for my children and for payment of my debts. God knows how true a heart I bear to her majesty, how true a heart to my country, whatever this day has been falsely objected to me. Farewell, my lords." [1]

He was led away from the bar. The high steward broke his rod and the trial was over, and a loud cry rose from the crowd, "God save the queen." It was expected that the resolution which had brought Elizabeth so far would have carried her on to the conclusion, and that the execution would not be postponed beyond the usual time. The duke evidently was without hope: face to face with death, he thought no more of the creed to which he had told the pope he was secretly devoted, and he desired that John Foxe the martyrologist, his old teacher, might prepare him for his end. Lord Burghley considered that hesitation would be extremely dangerous. "No better hope could be given to the evil," he said, "than to see justice forborne against the chief offenders in so perilous an enterprise. It would be imputed to fear, to lack of power in the queen's hand

[1] Skipwith to Burghley, January 17: *MSS. Domestic.*

by God's ordinance," and in the highly wrought condition of Catholic imagination, "to the Scottish queen's prayers and fastings." [1]

But Elizabeth, among many faults, had two qualities which were extremely honourable to her. She detested political executions, and much of her popularity was attributed by her to the cessation of the scenes which had made Tower Hill so hideous.[2] She possessed, besides, an insensibility truly regal to personal fear. Never at any time in her whole career was she driven by panic into cruelty. She had lived too long in the expectation of death to be frightened at the sound of it.

The very weakness of Norfolk's nature touched her. She let herself hope from the constancy of his denials that he had been less guilty than he seemed; and as he had accused Barker of perjury, she desired that he should be confronted with him. The duke flinched from the ordeal,[3] but Barker was re-examined by Knollys and Wilson, and made the most of every point which could tell in his master's favour. He blamed the Bishop of Ross, he blamed Southampton, Montague, Lumley—every one more than the duke; he said that they were for ever complaining of the duke's backwardness [4]

The Bishop of Ross, when again questioned, admitted that Norfolk had been forced into a position which he had not sought

[1] Notes in Cecil's hand. MSS. Hatfield.

knows. God forbid that any should advise her to be bloody, if her surety may be without blood; but if matters fall out so that she cannot be sure without it, better for some members to be cut off than the whole body to perish. My lord, I know you to be wise and careful of her estate. Let not the fear of offending others cause you to suffer her to run headlong into her own destruction. Let her remember the wise and politic government of all her predecessors, and of all the princes of the world, which is to spare none which shall dare touch God's holy anointed; no, not their own sons, if any be so unnatural." [1]

Remonstrances like these, with the return at intervals of her own wiser judgment, produced some effect upon Elizabeth. More than once she repeated her order for the drawing of the warrant. At the beginning of April she said distinctly that her hesitation was at an end, and that the execution should take place.[2] But the uncertainty in herself, and the influence of her favourites, once more undid her purpose. The time of grace was extended indefinitely, and the unhappy Norfolk persuaded himself that the bitterness of death was passed.

Nor with the lady at Sheffield could she any more resolve what to do. When the conspiracy was first discovered, neither Mary Stuart nor her friends expected any kind of mercy. Leaving vengeance out of sight, not a prince in Europe, on mere grounds of policy, would at that period have spared a competitor for the crown who had tried the game of rebellion and had failed. Both Alva and Philip had expressed their fears that, if the plot was found out, she would be executed, and they did not pretend to think that her execution would be unjust. A sovereign who in Elizabeth's circumstances ventured to dally with her danger, was considered forsaken of God, and given over to destruction. But time passed on, and except close confinement and the suppression of her correspondence, Mary Stuart experienced no further inconvenience. Buchanan's "Detectio" was published; Elizabeth announced at last that she could never more be restored to Scotland, and she was publicly termed "the late queen;" but there was no talk of bringing her to trial as well as the duke; no private assassins came down to Sheffield to do the work which but for English interference would have been completed at Lochleven; and at last, at Christmas, just before Norfolk was brought to the bar,

[1] Hunsdon to Burghley, March 20: *MSS. Border.*
[2] Warrant for the execution of the Duke of Norfolk, April 9: *MSS. Hatfield.*

she tried the effect of a letter in the hope of saving him. Notwithstanding the wrongs which she had suffered, she said, she could not forget that Elizabeth was her nearest relative, who had once seemed to love her. She had listened, poor fool that she was, and had laid herself open to be injured through her confidence, and she had been rewarded with slander and imprisonment. She had said from the first, that if the Queen of England would not help her, she would seek assistance elsewhere; she had but kept her word, and had done no wrong in keeping it. But she had wished to be Elizabeth's friend, and she wished it still. She was ready still to forget and forgive all her injuries if Elizabeth would restrain her anger and hurt no one on her account; she would be glad if they might be reconciled before the convulsion which was approaching in England burst out, and it was too late. "Do not think I flatter you, out of fear for myself," she said. "You may make a dishonourable profit out of my life, if you please to take it from me; but my heart is my own; I have done my duty in laying these considerations before you, to prevent the mischief which may otherwise ensue God move you to listen, to his glory, your own credit, and the public good."[1]

Elizabeth took no immediate notice of a letter which, after the admissions of the Bishop of Ross, implied too much contempt for her understanding, but when Shrewsbury was summoned to London to the trial, Sadler took his place at Sheffield, and used the occasion to point out to the Queen of Scots "that no prince, having such matter against her as the Queen of England had, would have used her so graciously."

[illegible]

might have done she could not say Norfolk might answer for himself.[2]

It was difficult to see what she hoped to gain by such words for Sadler was not a man to be fooled out of his convictions by hard swearing. When Shrewsbury returned he brought with him Elizabeth's answer

The Queen of Scots, she said, complained of injuries. She had herself been the first to do wrong, by laying claim to the crown. The Queen of England might have retaliated by [illegible]

[1] Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, December 25 LABANOFF, [illegible]
[2] Sadler to Cecil, January 9 MSS, QUEEN OF SCOTS. [illegible]

her own crown from her with the consent of her subjects. When she was afterwards dethroned, imprisoned, charged with murder, adultery, and maintaining the Earl of Bothwell, the Queen of England had saved her life; and now the Queen of Scots reproached her because she was not at liberty to stir more rebellions, to bring in foreign armies, and compel the Queen of England to allow her to marry the Duke of Norfolk. She had promised the Queen of England to think no more of that marriage; but she had pursued it without intermission; and no reasonable person could believe that she was not seeking to deprive the Queen of England of crown and life. The injuries were all on one side and the benefits on the other; and "indifferent persons marvelled more that the Queen of Scots' proceedings were not avenged after other sort than merely detaining her in the realm" with an expensive establishment. Foreign princes could not honourably assist her to recover her kingdom, when she had abandoned it upon causes, of which it would provoke her to grief and impatience to be reminded. The Queen of England desired to treat her kindly and favourably, but she must first give some proof of the goodwill she professed to entertain—by deeds as well as words; and at once, and as a first step, she must ratify the Treaty of Leith.[1]

It was sharp winter weather when Shrewsbury came back to Sheffield with this message. He brought permission with him to relax the strictness of the Queen of Scots' confinement; and when she was first allowed to go outside the castle door, "she plunged over her shoes into the snow."[2] Untamed and intractable as the eagle of her own mountains, she pined for liberty; and there was but one price which she would not pay for it. Sweet as was the air, and the open sky, and freedom, the hope of revenge was sweeter. Could she even then have abandoned her conspiracies, accepted the friendship which she affected to desire, and ceased to dream of revolutions, a few years, a few months perhaps, would have seen her clear of all her troubles. But it was not in her nature to submit: her proud spirit would sooner break than bend, and she could not part with the visions of triumph on which she had feasted in imagination so luxuriously.

The strictness of the watch over her was no sooner relaxed, than Shrewsbury found her again bribing his servants, smuggling

[1] The Queen of England to the Queen of Scots, February 1: Burghley's hand, abridged: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.
[2] Shrewsbury to Burghley, February 14: Ibid.

letters out of the house to her friends abroad—busy incessantly at the old work. The net had to be drawn tight again. Her people were briefly told, that if there was more of such work they would be sent to London and hanged;[1] and "the lady" had to fall back upon her "stormy manners and threatenings!" "never so unquiet since Shrewsbury had the care of her." The [illegible]

[illegible]

weapons, the Queen of Scots could only have recourse to her matchless power of sarcasm. If she could not hoodwink Eliza- [illegible]

[illegible]

always professed herself willing to abandon her present claim if her place in the succession was acknowledged The Queen of England said that she ought to be grateful to her for having declined the offer of the Scotch crown She was sorry she had been so remiss in acknowledging the obligation, but it was the first time that she had heard of it. If the Queen of England had received such a proof of her subjects' treason, she was surprised that the Queen of England should have supported them; but she thanked her, at all events, for such valuable information. As to saving her life, the Queen of England had been the chief maintenance of those who had threatened it, and her good [illegible]

[illegible]

proposed to replace her in his hands—with what intentions she left her good sister to settle with God As to the expense of her maintenance, she had not the slightest desire to eat the Queen of England's bread The Queen of England might be relieved

[1] Shrewsbury to Burghley, February 24

[2] Shrewsbury to Burghley, March 4 and March 9: *MSS.* [illegible] OF SCOTS.

at any moment by restoring her to the crown which she had
sted her subjects to take from her. The Queen of England
plained that she had attempted to bring strangers into Scot-
d. She was queen of that country, and if she had accepted
assistance of neighbouring princes to put down rebels who
l themselves been assisted by strangers against their sove-
gn, the Queen of England had nothing to complain of. The
ıke of Norfolk had been recommended to her as a husband by
me of the Queen of England's own ministers. It was hard to
xpect her to know that it was against the Queen of England's
ishes. Her majesty said that in other countries she would have
een treated less leniently. She did not see very well how this
ould be. She had come into England on the queen's invitation;
he had been held a close prisoner ever since; and her subjects
had been allowed to scatter libels over Europe against her. She
supposed, now, that the Queen of England was advised to put her
to death. She did not expect the Queen of England would
venture on such a step; but fear of death should not make her
do what otherwise she would not have done.[1] She had required
an acknowledgment that she stood next to her majesty in the
succession to the crown, and the English nobility had made the
same demand in her name. She was willing to give all necessary
ecurities for the Queen of England's safety, and they could then
be friends instead of enemies."[2]

Even this language failed to irritate Elizabeth into severity.
It seemed as if she desired by the extremity of forbearance to
wear out the interest of English gentlemen in Mary Stuart's fate
and fortunes—to give her scope and rope to convince the most
fanatic and incredulous of the real character of the idol on which
their hearts were set.

And as it was with the Queen of Scots, so it was with Scot-
land.

The failure at Stirling and the death of Lennox continued to
weaken further the failing strength of Mary Stuart's party. The
regency had fallen to the Earl of Mar, who was personally popular
The murder of the father of Darnley had reawakened the highe
conscience of the people, and the Hamiltons, compromised i
each of the three great crimes of the past years, became more an
more detested. The slightest action, or even a purpose decided
announced on the part of England, would have completed the
overthrow. The castle of Edinburgh would have surrendere

[1] *i.e.* ratify the treaty of Leith.
[2] Declaration of Mary Stuart, February 14, abridged: LABANOFF, vol.

and the unfortunate Scotland, for two years now given over to anarchy, *would have been restored to order and peace.*

On the first discovery of the Ridolfi conspiracy, Elizabeth yielded as usual to an impulse of good sense. She wrote to Mar to say that the late practices for setting on fire both the realms having by God's goodness been brought to light, he should have no further cause to doubt her intentions; she would assist him in bringing all Scotland to the obedience of the king; and she had empowered Hunsdon to treat with him on the course to be pursued.[1]

Mar at once moved from Stirling to Leith to prepare to *besiege the castle. Hunsdon and Drury sent word to Maitland* that further resistance was useless. Their mistress intended to interfere at last to real purpose; and if they refused to surrender, "there was force imminent upon them utterly for their extermination."[2] The castle party were well supplied with money and provisions. They had no fear of the regent, and the Gordons in the north had just gained what passed at the time for a considerable success. In two skirmishes Adam Gordon had cut up and destroyed the whole clan of Forbes. Lady Forbes shut herself up with her children and servants in Towie Castle. Adam Gordon came under the walls, broke an opening through them with pick and crowbar, and flung in blazing faggots of brushwood The children, choking with "the reek," [illegible]

[illegible]

Huntly; and Alva, though out of humour with England, was still thinking seriously that he might effect something in the northern kingd [illegible] had so far wor[illegible] been carefully [illegible] harbours had been selected to be fortified[4] [illegible]

[1] Elizabeth to the Earl of Mar, October [illegible] MSS *Scotland.*

[illegible] ...ds at [illegible] ...f Scot- [illegible] of all [illegible]

> "Give ower your house ye lady fair,
> *Give ower your house to me," etc.*

—Percy *Relics*, vol. I. p 125.

[4] Articles of the Lord Seton's negotiations with the *Duke of Alva: MSS* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

men and guns to reduce Edinburgh Castle, their hopes in this quarter would instantly disappear, and it was necessary, if possible, to amuse her with negotiations to give time for the Spaniards to come.

They knew her character only too well. It was with the greatest reluctance that she had acknowledged at last the necessity of interference. She was most anxious to induce the party in the castle to surrender of themselves, and insisted that the very easiest terms should be offered them consistent with their submission to the king. The mention of terms gave Maitland the opportunity which he wanted. It enabled him to raise a series of questions on the government of Scotland, on the restoration of forfeited property, on the endless difficulties, in detail, in the proposed reconciliation, and Elizabeth was willing to go on indefinitely allowing these points to be argued over. It was to no purpose that she was warned of the intrigues going forward at Brussels; of the danger of delay; of the certainty that when her troops were once in motion the castle would be surrendered at discretion. The queen only recalled the powers to use force which she had given to Hunsdon; and Hunsdon vainly told her that she was throwing away time, words, and money in endeavouring to deal with the difficulty in any other way.[1]

So the wretched uncertainty drove on. After three months' debate, it came to this. Elizabeth would not restore Mary Stuart, but would consent that during the king's minority the administration should be divided between the two factions; and she insisted that all the estates and offices which had been taken from the queen's friends should be restored to them. The regent naturally replied that he and those who had acted with him had ruined themselves to maintain the king's authority—as much in Elizabeth's interest as their own—and that those who had raised the civil war ought to pay for it.[2] Elizabeth might have met this objection by paying something herself; but every farthing of money which she advanced to these poor Protestant noblemen was wrung from her drop by drop as if it were her life's blood. The regent's troops were in mutiny for

[1] "They of the castle will not yield to persuasions or threatenings. I would her majesty had used some other instrument to make demonstrations of having the castle by force; for it is neither honourable to her nor credit to me, and doth verify their saying. They did always affirm and give out that what show soever her majesty made she would send no forces. I pray God when they shall find that her majesty will send *no forces that* they make not another alteration among themselves smally to her majesty's contentment."—Hunsdon to Burghley, December 4: *MSS. Scotland.*

[2] Mar to Hunsdon, January 15: Ibid.

want of wages, and Maitland laughed in his sleeve as he watched her wearing out their patience.[1]

The queen, *semper eadem*, as she fitly named herself, was resolute only not to part with money, and otherwise changed her mind from day to day. She allowed Burghley to draw up conditions favourable to the regent, and to threaten the castle party with compulsion; when it came to the point of action she perpetually refused to turn her menaces into reality, or to assist the regent with men or subsidies to drive or tempt them to submit.[2] With such a mistress over him Burghley could but struggle with impossibilities. He knew that unless Mary Stuart's faction in Scotland was put down the danger to England was scarcely less than from the Ridolfi conspiracy; but his threats were wasted words. Elizabeth was capable of letting Maitland know

[illegible]

astening home with money and instructions to prepare for heir reception, when the vessel in which he was crossing the hannel was driven by a storm into Harwich. Seton to lose no time passed through England disguised as a sailor, taking the money with him. The ship was to follow as soon as the weather moderated, and believing that no suspicion could attach to her, he left his papers and ciphers on board. Information was given to the officers of the port, the ship was searched, the documents were found and sent to London, and as the ciphers were gradually read they revealed the plans for the invasion of Scotland, with a correspondence between the Countess of Northumberland and Douglas of Lochleven for the release of the earl. Some few days elapsed, however, before the key was made out, and meanwhile Randolph and Sir William Drury, who was in commission with him, had been admitted to the castle to an interview with the Marian leaders. Seton had arrived, and not having heard of the miscarriage of his papers, they were in high confidence and spirits. Chatelherault, Huntly, Seton, Maitland, Hume, Grange, the Bishops of Dunkeld and Galloway, Sir Robert Melville and Ker of Fernihurst, and many others, were assembled there. They had collected to consider Alva's plans and how best they could forward them.

The castle was tolerably comfortable. Morton had hoped that the cold winter would have starved the garrison out, but they had destroyed the largest merchants' houses in Edinburgh to make fuel of the timber, and so had held the frost at bay. Mons Meg was fired in honour of the coming of the English envoys. The lords received them standing, all but Maitland, who was too ill to rise from his seat. They found the duk "the fool he always was;" Huntly "full of malice;" Seto "vain, despiteful, dishonest, unreasonable;" "the two worth prelates neither learned nor wise." Maitland was the o person of ability among them, and of him Randolph said, " had never found in so weak a body a man less mindful of G or unnatural to his country." They said that they were rea for peace, but peace on their own conditions, which wo virtually give the control of Scotland to themselves. T would not acknowledge either king or regent. Most of th had been concerned in the murders of Murray or Lennox, they insisted on being secured from undesirable consequen it was plain to Randolph "that if they were able to set all devils in hell loose to make mischief," they would not l one untied.

At length they drew up a paper of conditions, such as Maitland knew would be likely to work upon Elizabeth, in which, while declining to make concessions to the other party, they affected to throw themselves entirely upon the Queen of England's discretion. [illegible] should be [illegible] name, and [illegible] then be their own.[1]

Alva's coming, however, could be prevented. The knowledge that *his intentions were discovered would of itself be a* motive to him to keep quiet, and if not, there were now means by which he could be held in check; while so long as danger

[1] Terms sent from the castle, with marginal notes in Lord Burghley's hand

BURGHLEY'S NOTES	ARTICLES
Corpus sine capite.	1 Government to be composed of the lords of both sides, to be chosen indifferently by the Queen of England
Dormit securus	2 These persons shall promise and give security that Scotland shall continue in good amity with England
Sicut erant in principio	3 Foreign soldiers not to be received into Scotland
Nemo potest duobus dominis servire	4 Religion not to be changed, whereby both realms may be knit together in amity
Verba sunt hæc.	5 Difficult points to be reserved to her majesty, *who will be conservatrix of the treaty*
Statuta mathematica ante leges aut sine legislatore	6 Particular questions to be settled by Parliament
Per quam regulam.	7 Forfeitures to be declared null, and the dispossessed to be returned to their lands.
Ad quid hæc.	8 Her majesty must see orders taken for reparation of losses which we and our friends have sustained.
Qui potestatem sibi assumit odietur.	9 Provision for Grange to remain in the castle during the king's minority
Venenum assiduum sub labris ipsorum.	10 These terms to be extended in the treaty *for their honour, surety, and weal*
Væ qui profundiestis corde, et dicitis quis videt nos.	11 Convenient that these heads come not to the knowledge of our adversaries, but ye may open some points thereof as from yourselves.

February 26. *MSS. Scotland*

m Spain could be avoided Elizabeth herself was well pleased be addressed as the arbiter of Scotch disputes. The intima-n of a treaty being on foot for the release of the Earl of orthumberland was more seriously alarming. She felt it cessary at all hazards to get the earl into her own hands, and ie sent word to Mar that if Northumberland was given up to er, she would at least insist that the Castilians should acknow-edge the king and submit to the authority of the regent.

It was a relief to Mar to find at least something which gave him a hold upon Elizabeth's interests. He did not mean to affront Catholic Europe and violate Scotch prejudices for nothing. The cost of the earl's maintenance for two years had been considerable. The Countess of Northumberland offered Sir William Douglas £2000, and it was not to be expected that he would make a present to England of a person whose detention had been so expensive and dangerous. The regent undertook that the prisoner should not be released, but he said that if Elizabeth looked for more she must change her attitude. She had promised to support the king and assist in the pacification of the country; if she would keep her word and put an end to the rebellion, Scotland and all it contained would be at her disposition; but hearing "the brag of the adversaries that they would outshoot him with his own bow at her highness's hands, her majesty meantime continuing her own estate in such uncertainties," he could not "provoke the King of Spain by delivering up a man who called himself the said king's subject," with no assurance after all as to what he was to look for at her highness's hands.[1]

Elizabeth saw that she was trying the regent too far. The occupation of Leith and the demonstration against Edinburgh had cost Mar and his friends many thousand pounds. Elizabeth, as a great act of munificence, sent them a thousand, "of which they made as much account as if they had received sc many pence." But Randolph was permitted afterwards to oper a negotiation with the Lord of Lochleven, who undertook to pu Northumberland in the queen's hands for the sum which ha been offered by the countess, intimating at the same time tha if she refused his price he would make his bargain elsewhere.[2]

Lochleven was evidently in earnest. The queen could n lose her prize, and the money was sent to Berwick to be pa on receipt of the earl's person. Morton still attempted to ma

[1] Mar to Randolph, April 8: *MSS. Scotland.*
[2] Randolph and Drury to Hunsdon, April 10: Ibid.

[illegible]

whether he received it from England or Flanders; but to have restored Northumberland to liberty would have been to part with the last faint thread of dependence which the regent continued to place in the queen's word. He contented himself,

[illegible]

heated sevenfold, the treaty was spoken of no longer, and the fighting recommenced in all its fury. But Elizabeth had

[illegible]

ment was inconvenient. Randolph and Drury were recalled; and so intense was the exasperation that they were twice shot at, and hardly extricated themselves with their lives; while queen's-men and king's-men flew like wild beasts in each other's faces; no quarter was given, and all prisoners on both sides were hanged. The peaceful citizens of Edinburgh fled for their lives, and their houses were occupied and plundered by the castle soldiers.

Both sides being too weak for ordinary war, the struggle was reduced to a series of murderous skirmishes and raids and massacres; while Elizabeth was allowing Maitland to play upon her vanity and fool her with fair words only less hollow than her own.[1]

Nor was Scotland the only scene of her diplomatic eccentricities. *The Anjou marriage having come to nothing, France and* England were feeling their way towards a league which would

[1] As for instance —"The stream we see will not serve, and therefore [illegible]

answer as a substitute, although all parties seemed to feel that it would be a league of smoke, unless cemented by a union with Anjou's younger brother;[1] and both Burghley and the Huguenot leaders were more anxious than hopeful that the queen might be induced at last to accept the Duc d'Alençon. An incident had occurred in Paris, in December, which showed the precarious character of the situation, and the extreme weakness of the king's government. In the year of 1569 two Protestant merchants, known as the brothers Gastines, had given offence to the then all-powerful Cardinal of Lorraine. They had been tried for treason and executed. Their property had been seized, their houses levelled to the ground, and on the spot where side by side their two houses had stood, the Catholics of Paris had erected a splendid cross. On the return of peace, the Gastines' children petitioned for the removal of the offensive symbol, and Charles directed the provost to see the cross taken away. The service was considered so dangerous that the order had to be given three times before it was obeyed, and the young Duke of Guise, who had just returned from Alva, hastened to the neighbourhood of the capital to be on the spot if anything should happen, "thinking it was good policy for him if he could drive the Protestants to renew the war." Happily the business was over before Guise reached the scene; but enough had taken place to show that the Catholic volcano was on the brink of an eruption. The provost, after some difficulty, removed the cross; but the Catholic mob flew to arms and surged about the streets, cursing the king, and "crying out to kill the Huguenots." Two or three houses were gutted, and the families found in them were murdered. The people wanted only leaders to commence a general massacre; and when the riot ceased, it was "rather by God's providence than by any good policy used by the heads of the town."[2] The sedition died down, but the film had been

[1] "Entre el Rey de Francia y la Reyna de Inglaterra hay una liga de humo, pero dicese que es por la esperanza del casamiento entre la dicha Reyna y el hermano mas pequeño del Rey, aunque todo el mundo es de opinion que la Reyna no casará jamas, y assi los amigos son de opinion que la liga no durara mucho tiempo."—Avisos de Inglaterra, 1572: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Advertisement from Mr. Walsingham from Paris, December 29: *MSS. France.* A highly curious and detailed account of this *émeute* is contained in a letter from some one at Paris to Sir William Fitzwilliam. It is especially interesting, because, being within six months before the massacre of St. Bartholomew, it describes a state of feeling which, in the writer's opinion, was leading inevitably to some such catastrophe. Characteristically, Sir William Fitzwilliam being Lord Deputy of Ireland, the letter is buried by the arrangements at the Record Office among the Irish MSS., although it does not contain a single reference to that country.

removed for the moment, and revealed the fury which was boiling in the populace of the city; and the fears of the Huguenot leaders, so often repeated to Walsingham, that the proscription and persecution would be revived if the English alliance broke down, received a signal confirmation.

Sir Thomas Smith went over in January to discuss the terms of the treaty with Catherine. She instantly reopened her proposal for the Alençon marriage. She undertook that there should be no difficulties with religion. The duke, she said, should order himself as the queen pleased. The objections on the score of age were so strong in the case of Anjou, that the slight addition to them was of little or no moment. A marriage with either of the two brothers would not have been thought of except for political reasons; and it made little difference whether Elizabeth was twice as old as her intended bridegroom, or his senior only by sixteen years. Sir Thomas Smith was decidedly of opinion that his mistress ought to close with an offer which promised such splendid results. The marriage once completed, the war for the liberation of Flanders would immediately begin. There was no doubt of the sincerity of the king, "who was of like disposition towards Elizabeth as was his grandfather towards her father;" "and if her majesty would proceed to take profit of the time, she might have what amity

murdered, and that the Queen of Scots might succeed. "That doubt taken away, the king would be content to yield to anything which Elizabeth might desire." [1]

But Walsingham said—and he reported the words as the opinion of Coligny—"Unless her majesty did proceed roundly in cutting off inward diseases at home, the outward medicine of treaties would stand her in no stead;" and Sir Thomas Smith more plainly: "If her majesty deceive herself, and with irresolution make all princes to understand that there is no certainty in her majesty nor her council, but dalliance and farding off of time, her majesty shall first discredit her ministers, which is not much, but next and by them discredit herself, to be counted as uncertain, irresolute, unconstant, and for no prince to trust unto—but as to a courtier who hath words at will and true deeds none." [2]

Elizabeth, however, would give no answer about Alençon, and could not decide whether to punish or pardon the late conspirators. The same in everything—with Norfolk, with the Queen of Scots, with Scotland, with her marriage, with the terms of the alliance—she could decide on nothing. From a mixture of motives, some honourable to her, some merely weak, some rising from the twist in her mental constitution, she hesitated to adopt, and she would not reject, the means which were pressed upon her for securing her throne, and she lay with flapping sails drifting in the gale.

With such spirits as they could collect under these hard circumstances, the English envoys went to work upon the treaty, encountering obstacles which only the steadiness of the French king prevented from being insuperable. The pope, knowing well the stakes which were being played for, entreated, prayed, and threatened. If Charles would come back to his allegiance to Holy Church, he offered to make him general of the holy league against the infidels, and "Emperor of Constantinople." [3] He sent his blessing, and substantial tokens of it, to his saintly child Anjou; who, as Smith said in scorn, would make the pope, in recompense, Caliph of Bagdad—Summum Pontificem Babyloniæ. The pressure of all Catholic France was brought to bear against the king's resolution; and, considering his age and training, his perseverance was not a little creditable to him.

[1] Walsingham to Burghley, April 4: DIGGES.
[2] Walsingham to Burghley, April 22; Sir Thomas Smith to Burghley, April 22: DIGGES.
[3] Sir T. Smith to Burghley, January 18: *MSS. France.*

Among the first conditions discussed, was a clause binding the two governments to stand by each other in case of invasion. Walsingham, knowing the loopholes provided by papal dis-

[illegible]

"any cause" implied religion; but he said that he dared not encounter excommunication and rebellion with no better security than so far Elizabeth would offer him. He feared, as Walsingham explained, that "with her overmuch lenity she could not in policy long stand;"[2] if she would marry his brother, he would say anything and do anything that she pleased[3] Burghley had argued in England to the same purpose. He told La Mothe that he would gladly pass many a sleepless night to bring the queen to consent; but he doubted much if he could succeed. Ma Mothe, to quicken her movements, told her that if she *maintained* her present attitude, an article would have to be introduced in favour of the Queen of Scots and Scotland; and Elizabeth, in a rage, directed Sir T. Smith to put in a counter-reservation for the protection of Philip and Philip's dominions.[4]

[illegible]

think that this prince is of any value, who is towards all men sincere, and towards her majesty well affected, she must not weigh him in one balance with Spain."[6] Charles was too anxious for the success of the treaty to press heavily on points of difference. To the intercession for the Queen of Scots, Lord

[illegible]

Burghley replied that "it would be mere open folly in her majesty to yield to anything which would better her condition."[1] He told La Mothe he would rather advise the queen to accept war with France and Spain combined than set her at liberty."[2] But the move in the Queen of Scots' favour had been made for form's sake, or as a spur to Elizabeth. The discoveries at Harwich had again proved that Mary Stuart's hopes and interests were now exclusively with the Spaniards, and the queen-mother said that they would speak for her no further.[3] The difficulty on the invasion clause was got over by the king consenting to write an autograph letter under the great seal of France, construing the language of the treaty as the English desired. The Scottish question was postponed to a more convenient season, the two governments agreeing to act in concert about it;[4] and on the 19th of April, the treaty so much dreaded by the Catholics between France and England was sealed and signed—the Queen of Scots, to the dismay of her friends, being passed over in silence.[5] Would it hold? that was the question; without the guarantee of the marriage, there were doubts whether it was worth the parchment on which it was written. No sooner were the terms agreed on, than Montmorency, the heir to the name and policy of the great Constable, "a lover of England as much as any in France," was sent over with De Foix to receive the ratification of Elizabeth; and at the same time, for the closer union of the two countries, and for the welfare of Christendom, to make a formal offer of the Duc d'Alençon, and sue at the queen's feet for the alliance with which she had so long been trifling. The choice of Montmorency for such a mission removed from the proposal all appearance of sectarianism. The marriage was not sought in the interests of the Huguenots, but in the interest of the free spirit in France, which was struggling to check the Catholic reaction, and labouring nobly to save the fruits of the great movement of the past half century from being drowned in blood.

"They were going"—so ran the instructions of the French government to the two envoys—"they were going to England

[1] Notes in Burghley's hand, March 28: *MSS. Queen of Scots.*
[2] La Mothe, March 18.
[3] Sir T. Smith to Elizabeth, April 3: Digges.
[4] "Consideration of the matters of Scotland, how the same may be ordered to the contentation both of France and England, March 28," in Burghley's hand: *MSS. Scotland.*
[5] "En la dicha liga no se trata nada de la restitucion ó libertad de la Reyna de Escocia, por lo qual parece que ella quedará como prisoniera en Inglaterra."—Avisos de Inglaterra: *MSS. Simancas.*

to complete a treaty which had been the subject of so much anxious expectation; and after receiving the oath of the queen, they would offer her, in his majesty's name, the hand of his youngest brother. Marriage, they would say, was the surest bond of treaties. The king had thought at one time that a union might be brought about between the Duc d'Anjou and the Queen of England; objections had arisen from differences of religion, which could not be overcome; but being unable to part with his hope, he desired now to make a second proposal of the *Duc d'Alençon*, who was better fitted in many ways for her majesty's acceptance." The envoys would dwell on the [illegible] expected from such a union [illegible] that Leicester was still the secret obstacle, Montmorency was empowered to offer the favourite the hand of a princess of the house of Bourbon as the price of his support.[1]

They arrived in London to witness the opening of the most remarkable Parliament which had met since the queen's accession. Shifting from hour to hour, now inclining to France, and now to Spain; now resolute to send Norfolk to the scaffold, and *indict the Queen of Scots for treason, to send troops to Scotland* and end disorder there with a high hand, now dreading that decision upon one point would bring with it decision upon all, and perhaps oblige her to accept her French suitor; listening now to Burghley and Bacon, now to the insidious tongues which whispered about her closet—Elizabeth had consented at last to the calling of a fresh Parliament, where she could learn the [illegible] the throne. On [illegible] speech [illegible] There was *no special mention of persons or things*, but the council had made up their minds to introduce a Bill of Attainder against the Queen of Scots, and to invite both Houses to join in a petition for justice against the Duke of Norfolk.[2] At the desire of the lords, who, after the arrest or flight of the leading Catholics, were under Burghley's control, a committee of the two Houses met immediately in the star chamber, to devise "how to proceed with the Scotch queen;" and on the 19th, the

[1] Commission to Montmorency and M. de Foix going to England, April 5: LA MOTHE, vol. vii.

[2] *Leicester to Walsingham, May 21*: DIGGES.

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Commons, after receiving the committee's report, resolved to attaint her, and so "touch her in life as well as in title."

Mary Stuart, who took her notion of the disposition of the English people towards her from priests and fanatics, so far from conceiving that she was in any danger from the Parliament, had threatened Elizabeth, that if an attempt was made to cut her off from the succession, she would appeal by deputy and raise the Houses against the queen.[1] She little guessed the temper which she had succeeded at last in rousing. Mary Stuart, the next in blood to the crown, the half-known Queen of reformed Scotland and tolerant of another creed though true to her own; Mary Stuart, the wife of Darnley, and sprung herself from a marriage devised by the forethought of Henry VII. for the union of the crowns: such a Mary Stuart had been looked upon by Catholic England with passionate hope, and by half-Protestant England with more than favourable expectation. Mary Stuart, the murderess, the conspirator against the life of the queen; Mary Stuart, who had sought to bring England again under the yoke of the triple crown and sell its liberties to the Spanish king—this Mary Stuart might continue still an object of interest to the proud nobles of the old blood, to whom liberty was detestable, or to the venomous bigots who knew no crime but heresy, and no virtue but allegiance to Holy Church. But to most even of the ruling families, England was dearer than prejudice. The revelations on the Duke of Norfolk's trial, and the publication, late though not too late, of the true history of Darnley's murder, had gone like an electric shock through the masses of the people; and the same men who had been the Queen of Scots' friends in past sessions were now ready and but too willing to send her to the scaffold.

As soon as the Commons had passed their resolution, Convocation instantly took it up. The queen was understood to be still determined to protect the Queen of Scots. On the 20th the archbishops and bishops waited upon her in a body at St. James' Palace to explain to her that it would be a crime in the sight of God to prevent justice from being done.[2] Their argu-

[1] "Je me suis contrainte par cette lettre, n'ayant autres moyen, protester que si en aucun parlement il se prétend faire quelque chose au préjudice de mon droict après vous, mon intention est de m'y opposer et le débattre en l'assemblée d'ung parlement."—Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, April 30: LABANOFF, vol. iv.

[2] MS. endorsed in Burghley's hand, "a Writing exhibited by the Clergy of the Higher House to the Queen's Majesty at St. James's to move her Majesty to assent to Justice against the Scottish Queen, May 20:" *MSS.* MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

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ved, but it was so little satisfactory that Burghley became
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ther to objections nor to sickness. He could not stand, but
was carried in his litter to Parliament. He was carried in
s litter to the queen's presence. He strained every nerve to
ove her; but he still failed.[1] The Commons had expressed im-
atience that Norfolk was left unpunished. Leicester informed
Valsingham that he saw no likelihood of the duke's execution.[2]

Profoundly depressed, Burghley nevertheless held on in his
course. If he could not prevail upon the queen by persuasion,
he could maintain the pressure of the Parliament upon her.
The success of the French treaty, the future policy of the French
government, depended on the energy to which Elizabeth could
be roused. Neither Charles nor Catherine would risk the
chances of a European war by the side of a woman whose life at
best was all they had to trust to, and whose purposes seemed
variable as the wind.

The agitation of the House of Commons continued, and the
queen at length was forced in some degree to give way. She
persisted still that the Bill of Attainder should be dropped; she
said "she could not put to death the bird that had flown to her
for succour from the hawk;" but she sent the Commons word
that she would not resist a measure of inferior severity. The
answer did not satisfy them. While the Queen of Scots lived
no Succession Bill would make her a single degree less formidable.
They continued to insist upon hard measures; and on the morn-
ing of the 28th of May a message came from the palace that th
queen would receive a deputation from the two Houses and hea
what they had to say. Court and Parliament were early i
their habits, and at eight o'clock the joint committee which ha
recommended the attainder were in Elizabeth's presence.
They said briefly that God had given them a sovereign wi

[1] "The Commons are sound throughout, and in the Lords there is
lack; but in the highest person such slowness and such stay in resolu
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[2] "Great suit is made by the Nether House to have execution
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whose administration they were generally satisfied, and that they did not desire to lose her. The Lady Mary Stuart, a queen of late times, but through her own acts justly deprived of that dignity, had taken refuge in her majesty's dominions, her majesty having once already saved her from certain penalties which "by her horrible doings" she had entirely deserved. Her majesty might have legitimately proceeded against her for past attempts upon her crown. Instead of doing so she had befriended and protected her, and the unnatural lady had rewarded her hospitality by fresh conspiracies. Her majesty considered that she would be sufficiently punished if she was declared unworthy of a place in the succession, and if it was understood that should the Queen of Scots [illegible]

[illegible] measure would be found entirely inadequate. To disable the Queen of Scots from the succession would indirectly be an admission of her right, and so far from discouraging either her or her friends, it would make them only more desperate and determined. Experience of Mary Stuart's character had proved that she neither respected law nor feared danger. Threats would not work upon her. She wanted neither wit nor cunning, and "many would venture deep to win a kingdom." Her majesty was supposed to fear the opinion of foreign princes. It was no wise anxiety to think so much of her honour as to lose state, life, and honour also; and should the Queen of Scots escape, foreign princes would only think that she had been culpably weak. Her adversaries would consider it a miracle, and no heavier blow could possibly be dealt to the cause of Christ in Europe. The committee therefore entreated her majesty "to deal rather certainly than by chance." Merely to disable the Queen of Scots would be more beneficial to her than injurious, and would be dangerous in many ways to the commonwealth. A king in [illegible]

"Justice and equity were to be preferred before private affections;" "and to spare offenders in the highest degree was an injury to the prince and the realm." [1]

The queen, whatever may have been her private impatience, was too prudent to reply as she had replied before on other subjects to the representatives of the people. She admitted that the course which the committee recommended was "the best

[1] Journals of Parliament, 14 Elizabeth: Dewes.

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first to last had characterised her dealings with her cousin,
ly, it may be from an instinctive foresight of the hard con-
ction of posterity, she shrank from granting what she could
longer positively refuse. She thanked the Houses for their
e for her safety. She asked them only to "defer their pro-
edings" for a time, and pass the less extreme measure mean-
ile. The law officers of the crown, she said, could contrive
eans of evading the particular difficulty which the committee
d raised.

However carefully expressed, the meaning of this was but too
bvious. "The bosom serpent" was still to be shielded from
ustice, and the Catholics abroad and at home were to construe
Elizabeth's infirmity into fear, or into blindness inflicted upon
her by Providence. There was no present remedy: the Queen
of Scots was safe; but the same plea could not be urged in
defence of the companion of her treasons. The Duke of Norfolk
was no anointed prince whose sanctity might not be violated,
and the suspense with him too had been set down to miracle.
Their first request being evaded, the Lords and Commons were
the more determined that their second should be granted; and
they petitioned in form that the duke should be executed with-
out further delay

On this point, with the deepest reluctance, Elizabeth felt that
she must yield. She desired only that the petition should be
withdrawn, that she might save her credit and be supposed to
be acting freely. She once more signed the warrant, which this
time was not withdrawn, and early on the 2nd of June the duke
was led out to suffer on Tower Hill. In the few words which he
addressed to the people, he still called himself innocent. He
said, as he had said at his trial, that treasonable overtures had
been made to him, but that he had not consented to them; and
he declared that he had never been a party to any conspiracy
for bringing the Spaniards into England. His protestation
cannot avail his memory. His instructions to Ridolfi and hi
own letter which survives at Simancas, leave no room for doub
that he was lying. He added, and he called God to witnes
"that he never was a Papist since he knew what religion meant
"that he had always detested Papistry and still detested i
The Spanish agent of the Duke of Alva, who witnessed t
execution, could suppose only that in making an assertion

opposite to his declaration to the pope, he was nourishing to the last some hope of pardon.[1]

He was desired to be brief. No respite came, if he looked for it. He shook hands with all who were standing round him, gave the executioner a purse of sovereigns, knelt, said a few prayers, and recited the 51st Psalm. It was observed that at the 18th verse he altered the words, and for "Build thou the walls of Jerusalem," said, "Build thou the walls of England." He then threw off his cloak, refused to allow his eyes to be blinded, laid his head upon the block, and died at a blow.

It has been eloquently said that the grass soon grows over blood shed upon the battle-field, but never over blood shed upon the scaffold. Treason is an offence which rarely exists without seeming excuse. It pleads at the bar of history as an effort, if an unwise one, to vindicate an honourable cause; and when the calamities which it has occasioned or threatened to occasion are forgotten or have ceased to be feared, compassion for the sufferer is changed by an easy transformation into condemnation of his judges. The most exaggerated sentiment will scarcely venture to censure the punishment of Norfolk. Others were perhaps more faulty than he had been. He was drawn unwillingly into the conspiracy, and his infirmity of purpose was the principal cause of its failure; but his reluctance was an aggravation of his guilt, for it was the confession of the absence of any generous motive which could have excused him. He

lineage with perjury and cowardice.

Parliament meanwhile was occupied with the second measure against the Queen of Scots which Elizabeth had affected to recommend. The one effective means of cutting her off from the succession would have been the recognition of her son; but Elizabeth, for her own reasons, would not hear of this; and on the 5th of June the attorney-general brought in a Bill which was said to have received her approbation, with an intimation from her majesty that she wished it to be passed as soon as possible. The provisions are but generally known, for it never became law, and Elizabeth never seriously intended to sanction

[1] "Algunos han juzgado que decia esto con esperanza de perdon"—Antonio de Guaras al Duque de Alva, June 1572: *MSS. Sim*

it. She professed to fear that it would give offence to France. The meaning of this will be presently seen. She had made her position extremely perplexing—perplexing to herself and perplexing to all who had to deal with her. The French government, till they were sure of her, still kept on hand their double policy. The despatches of La Mothe, who as a Catholic was not admitted to a full knowledge of state secrets, are full of interest in the Queen of Scots, and imply or seem to imply an equal interest on the part of Charles and Catherine. Yet Walsingham at the same time could write from Paris, "that as long as the Queen of Scots lived there would never grow good accord in Scotland, nor continuance of repose in England, nor perfect and sound amity between her majesty and the French crown."[1] The situation is generally intelligible, the details on many points remain obscure.

The Bill, in compliance with Elizabeth's seeming wishes, was laboured over by Lords and Commons, forming almost the entire business of the remainder of the session. At length it was passed. On the 30th of June the queen came down to the House of Lords to give her consent, but, instead of consenting, she said she would think over it during the summer, and prorogued the Parliament till October. "We made a law," Burghley wrote to Walsingham, "to make the Scottish queen unable and unworthy of succession to the crown. It was by her majesty neither assented to nor rejected, but deferred to All Saints. What all other good and wise men think thereof you may guess. Some here have, as it seems, abused their favour about her majesty to make herself her worst enemy. God amend them. I will not write to you who are suspected."[2]

And now what answer was to be given to Montmorency and to the offer of the Duc d'Alençon? More tremendous issues were hanging upon Elizabeth's decision than she knew of. But she did know that France was looking to her reply—was looking to her general conduct, to ascertain whether she would or would not be a safe ally in a war with Spain, and that on her depended at that moment whether the French government would take its place once for all on the side of the Reformation.

An event which had just taken place on the coast of Holland had increased the gravity of the situation, and made the queen's decision more than ever momentous.

It was seen that the expulsion of Don Guerau was a signal for

[1] Walsingham to Burghley, June 28: DIGGES.
[2] Burghley to Walsingham, July: DIGGES.

the refugees to make fresh efforts to rouse Philip. The language of Reginald Pole was revived by the ultramontane faction, whose own desire was to see Don John of Austria come northward with the squadron of Lepanto, and commence another crusade against the Turks of their own country.[1] As the Catholic party was losing its national character and passing into vulgar conspiracy, the conduct of it fell more and more to the brood of English clergy at Louvain They were men whose all in all in earth or heaven was the faith of the Church; and one among them especially, Nicholas Sanders, once an Oxford student, who had kindled his piety at the flames which burnt Cranmer, was sent for to Rome, to Pope Pius, to consult on the best means of setting the rebellion on its feet again.[2]

[illegible]

both sides dismissed, and the privateers which infested the Channel, Elizabeth and Philip were at war in all but the name; but the conspiracy having come to nothing, both they and Alva had their reasons for wishing to avoid an open rupture. Alva was beginning his great scheme of taxation, by which the Netherlands were to pay the cost of their conquest His ability in the field was rivalled by his incapacity as an administrator, and the manufacturers and artisans of Bruges and Ghent and Antwerp, who had learnt to endure the inquisition, were threatening to resist in arms the confiscation of their property. The Prince of Orange was watching his opportunity to turn the mutiny to account, and Alva was well aware of the intentions with which France and England had drawn together His

[1] [illegible]

tianam preventuri [illegible]
multitudo permittat [illegible]
insistatur veteri ex [illegible]
field to —— *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] N. Sanders to the Earl of Northumberland, January 23: *MSS Flanders.*

object was, if possible, to divide them, and when the Spanish ambassador was dismissed, he bore the insult and did not recall the commissioners, and Elizabeth, for her own purposes, was willing that they should remain. The reopening of the Flanders trade was of great importance to London, and the queen was glad to keep in play with Spain as a means of escape, should all else fail, from the embraces of Alençon. She began, therefore, at last, to interfere seriously to put down the privateers: their prizes were occasionally taken from them and restored to the owners, and although De la Mark, the admiral, complained that "he was but making war against the common enemy, the Duke of Alva," he was told that if he remained any longer on the English coast, he would be treated as a pirate.[1] The officers of the ports were forbidden to furnish him with supplies, and the English sailors on board his ships received orders to leave him. It had been argued in the Admiralty Courts that "the Prince of Orange, having his principality of his title in France, might make lawful war against the Duke of Alva;" and that the queen would violate the rules of neutrality if she closed her ports against his cruisers.[2] Schwegenhem was informed, however, that this objection would no longer be maintained; the privateers should be obliged to withdraw; and her majesty trusted that the Duke of Alva would recognise the good faith with which she was acting. English noblemen, English priests, and others engaged in levying war against their native country, were notoriously entertained and assisted in the dominions of the King of Spain; the queen expected that the king would follow her example, and in return for the expulsion of the Prince of Orange's fleet would send these persons about their business.

Deep treachery on both sides lay concealed beneath these hollow courtesies; yet both Elizabeth and Alva desired to leave a loophole for reconciliation in case of a rupture with France. The outstanding differences were not settled; the captured money was not restored; but a temporary commercial treaty was drawn up, to last for two years, and trade between England

[1] De la Mark to the Council, January 1572.

[2] "Aliquâ ratione injuriosum videri potest immiscere se actibus et litibus exterorum principum qualis est iste Princeps Orengianus, quem constat liberum esse Principem Imperii; et, ut apparet, eum ipsi Imperatori et Statubus Imperii acceptum tum etiam Galliarum Regi, in quo regno possessiones multas obtinet, satis gratum."—Responsio Articulis quibusdam a Domino Schwegenham propositis, February 22: *MSS. Flanders.*

"Sum of the answer made to M. Schwegenhem attending for the king Catholic, February 22." Burghley's hand: *MSS. Spain.*

and the Low Countries was reopened by proclamation on the 30th of April.

The secret conspiracies, meanwhile, were not relaxed on either side. The refugees still remained at Louvain, as busily employed as ever, and Alva continued to aim through Scotland at Elizabeth's unguarded side; while the private meaning of the expulsion of De la Mark was revealed in an exploit which had been long concerted, and which formed a notable comment upon the good faith with which the English government pre-

[illegible]

a convoy of Spanish traders on their way to Antwerp appearing in the Straits, he at last put to sea. It has been said that he started with no definite intentions, that by Elizabeth's orders he was unsupplied even with provisions, and that what he accomplished was under the impulse of desperation.[1] It was convenient both for Elizabeth and De la Mark that it should be so represented to the world; but the Spanish ambassador had sent a sketch of the projected movement six months previously to Alva,[2] and the buccaneering interest was too powerful at Dover to have allowed such instructions to have been executed were it true that they had been seriously given

De la Mark's first step on clearing the harbour was to dash upon the merchant fleet. Two large vessels, one of which was worth, it was said, 60,000 crowns, were taken, and their crews flung overboard.[3] The rest fled up Channel with the rovers in

[illegible]

ont donné sur la queue, qui ont prins deux ourques [illegible] l'une s'estime valloir plus de soixante mille escus, y ont jetté ceulx qui estoient dedans hors bort dans l'eau"—La [illegible] April 14: *Dépêches*, vol IV

lose chase. A few days later the privateer squadron was seen anchoring, at daybreak, in the mouth of the Meuse, opposite the town of Brille. A boat came on shore, with a summons to the governor to surrender to the admiral of the Prince of Orange within two hours. He might, perhaps, have resisted, for the batteries were well armed; but the terror of De la Mark's name struck the citizens into a panic. They fled in all directions, taking with them as much property as they could carry. The crews landed, burnt the gates, and entered without difficulty. The churches were plundered, thirteen miserable monks and priests, who had neglected to escape, were murdered; but there were no further outrages, and "the sea beggars" had firm and quiet possession of an important station which by land was all but impregnable. Count Bossu, Alva's stadtholder, flew from Utrecht to the rescue; but he found the dykes cut and the country under water. Brille, for the present, was lost. Rotterdam was likely to revolt at the news, and thither Bossu hastened to find the gates closed and entrance refused. Promises mad to rebels and broken when they had answered their purpos were the legitimate stratagems of Spanish warfare. Boss entreated only that his men might be allowed to pass throug and swore that no hurt should be done to any one. T burghers weakly consented, and to prevent the contagion fr spreading, there was a general massacre of men, women, a children. But Bossu gained little by his treachery. Prepa tions had been made all along the coast towns for a rising, De la Mark's arrival was the signal for it to break out. success at Brille was scarcely known in England, when came that Flushing had risen also, overpowered its garr and fired upon Alva's fleet. The English government lighted the train, and looked quietly on. The exciteme London was uncontrollable. Torrents of money poured the Protestant churches, and streamed across the Channe verted into guns and powder. The Flemish exiles forn companies and went to join their comrades, accompar hundreds of English volunteers, and the cry rose in parl and out of it to drive the accursed Spaniards out of the pr for ever.[1] The bishops petitioned Elizabeth to declare

[1] On the 24th of May de Guaras writes:—"Es increible cos siones desta gente; con toda la solicitud que pueden, envian municiones, dineros y ayuda, á la Brilla y Flushing, y mucha ge y asimismos persuaden á muchos Ingleses ir allá. Por las grandes lamentaciones por la fama que han echado, de que en no solamente matáron á todos los hombres, pero á todas las

complete the work. But it seemed at first as if no help was needed. Through Zealand, Holland, Utrecht, Overyssel, port after port followed the example of Flushing. Enkhuizen the Spanish arsenal on the Zuyder Zee, Dort, Leyden, Haarlem, Alkmaar, all rose, destroyed or expelled their garrisons, and raised the standard of freedom. The time was come for which Orange had been so long looking and preparing. While the

seized Mons, and threw into it 2000 of Coligny's bravest troops. Montgomery joined him a few days later with 1500 more, and de Genlis went back to Paris to bring up reinforcements which Charles himself had promised.

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greatness in the Great Square at Brussels, as conqueror of the Netherlands, and now the Netherlands were not conquered; the great marts of industry were nests of maddened hornets; and the dreaded French were in a fortified town a few leagues distant from the capital. Disasters came thick on one another. Medina

had no leisure now for Scotch experiments, would the French

niños, y asi lo creen todos los Ingleses, que la mejor palabra es que somos

with Philip.[1]

promised to give an answer in a month[2]

As usual the days passed on and brought no decision with them. All the council, unless Leicester was a secret exception, wished her to consent; so much she knew, but the effect was only to make refusal difficult. One day "she would not marry a boy with a pock-spoilt face" The next, "she was moved by the importunities of those who worked upon her mind" On the 23rd

ecessary for her, and yet the opinion of others, misliking
party for his person, doth more hinder her purpose than her
conceit. I see such extremities on both sides as I can make
hoice. Without marriage all evils must be looked for; by
riage without liking, no good can be hoped. Therefore to
I leave it. The queen is very irresolute." [1]

Events in those fierce times would not wait for the irresolution
queens. Alva had commenced the siege of Mons. The
ince of Orange was on the Rhine, with 25,000 Germans pre-
ring to advance to its relief. An army of Huguenots was
sembling in France which the admiral, after the marriage,
tended to lead in person to Brussels. Genlis, conceiving that
ons was in danger, pressed forward first with a few thousand
nen. Count Louis warned him to be careful how he approached
he city, and advised him to join his brother; but Genlis was
confident; wishing to have the credit of raising the siege, he
pushed heedlessly and hastily on; and Chapin Vitelli and Don
Frederick of Toledo fell upon him and dashed him to pieces.
Genlis himself was made prisoner, and afterwards strangled in
prison. Twelve hundred of his followers were left dead on the
field, the rest scattered everywhere, and were either murdered
by the country people, or taken and shot by the Spaniards.

In itself, this disaster was of little consequence. The prince's
army was untouched, and the admiral would soon be in the field.
But it was ill timed, it added to Charles's difficulties, and shook
the fortitude of the queen-mother. The fierce blood of the
Paris Catholics was simmering. "Such of the religion," Wal-
singham wrote on the 26th of July, to Burghley, "such of the
religion as before slept in security, awake to see their danger,
and to conclude that, unless their enterprise in the Low Countries
have good success, their cause grows desperate. They have of
te sent to the king, who is absent from home, to show him
at if the Prince of Orange quail, it shall not lie in him to main
ain them in his protection by virtue of his edict. They desir
im, therefore, to resolve upon something, offering to emplo
herein their lives, lands, and goods. Considering the earne
help which the pope is giving to the other side, they see, th
unless her majesty and the princes of Germany in like sort j
with this crown, there is no doubt what shall be the event.
you tender God's glory and her majesty's safety, see if you
induce her, upon overtures first to be made by the king in their beh
to join with him in yielding assistance. If God had not raised

[1] Burghley to Walsingham, July 27: DIGGES.

the Prince of Orange to have entertained Spain, the fire would have kindled before this in our own home. To assist the prince is to assist ourselves. For God's sake let us declare ourselves openly. The Catholic powers show their courage and zeal. England will only act underhand, without heart or spirit. No enterprise accompanied by fear can succeed; for there is no greater enemy to good counsel than fear. If the prince fail, the edicts cannot be maintained."[1]

Her own interests, her obligations to Orange, her duty to the cause of which she was made by her position the principal representative, alike urged Elizabeth into one bold honourable course: what motive could have prompted her to the step which has now to be described, it would be unsafe and unjust, in the absence of proof, to conjecture. At every difficult stage in her career there [illegible]

by the defeat of Genlis; it is possible that she was trying some cunning stroke of diplomatic treachery: or again—but conjectures are useless. It is enough to say that if she was sincere, she was without excuse; if she was insincere, never was a trick more stupidly played, or a moment more unfortunate selected to play it.

On learning that the French were in Mons, the Duke of Alva had made fresh overtures for a reconciliation with England. De Guaras,[2] in a private audience, gave the queen a letter from him, and De Guaras may himself relate what followed.

"She told me," he wrote, "that emissaries were coming every day from Flushing to her, proposing to place the town in her hands. If it was for the service of his majesty, and if his majesty approved, she said that she would accept their offer. With the English who were already there, and with others whom she would send over for the purpose, it would be easy for her to take entire possession of the place, and she would then make it over to the Duke of Alva or to any one whom the duke would appoint to receive it."[3]

[1] *Walsingham to Burghley and Leicester, July 26*: DIGGES.

[2] Alva's commissioner, to be carefully distinguished from Don Guerau, the expelled ambassador.

[3] "La Reyna de Inglaterra le habia dicho, dandole [el] unas cartas de

not, that she would join openly with France in assisting the Prince of Orange. He implored Burghley and he implored Leicester not "to allow her to be deceived by the fair words of Spain," for Spain would change its language when its difficulties were over, and "fearful effects would follow unless God put to His helping hand."[1]

The fearful effects were nearer than Walsingham believed. Elizabeth at first encouraged De la Mole to hope, and both he and La Mothe wrote to Paris in good spirits. A little after, she sent Walsingham a letter of the old sort, that she would and that she would not: that perhaps she would: that she must see Alençon, and that she could then make up her mind. Sir Thomas Smith, by the same post, begged that Alençon would come over, "else nothing was to be looked for but continual dalliance and doubtfulness;" and Burghley added to the packet a letter to Coligny which was never to reach his hand.

"What God shall please to do in the cause I know not," he said, "but I see the marriage of my lady and queen is of more moment to the weal, both particularly of this realm and publicly of Christendom for the benefit of religion, than I fear our sins will suffer us to receive. But as hitherto our good God hath mightily preserved this our estate, so I trust the same will not leave His marvellous work, but will bring it to some further perfection. Herein I trust that you will employ your help there, and I for my poor part will do my best here."[2]

The date of this letter was the 22nd of August. While Cecil was writing it, the admiral was lying wounded in his bed. Before the couriers reached Paris he was dead, and the gutters in the streets were running with Huguenot blood. Elizabeth had trifled too long. The bars of hell's gates were broken and the devils were loose. It is not pretended that she ought to have sacrificed herself. She might have declined, had she pleased it, both the marriage with Alençon and all interference for good or evil with the affairs of the Continent. But "to practise" as she had done deliberately for so many years with the subjects of other princes; to encourage insurrection for her own purposes, and then to leave the fire to burn; to hold out hopes and disappoint them; "to build," as Walsingham expressed it, "with

[1] The King to M. de La Mothe Fénelon, July 20, August 9; The Queen-mother to M. de La Mothe Fénelon, August 10: *Dépêches*, vol. vii. De La Mothe Fénelon to the King, July 29, August 3, August 7; Walsingham to Sir T. Smith, August 10; Walsingham to Burghley, August 10; Walsingham to Leicester, August 10: DIGGES.

[2] Burghley to Coligny, August 22: *MSS. France.*

one hand and overthrow with the other;" all this might be sport

The Queen of Scots, being satisfied that Elizabeth would not

earl relieved the court of their anxieties about her: she had merely overdosed herself with some convenient medicine.[2]

A commission went down to examine her on her transactions with Ridolfi, Elizabeth at the same time informing her of the measures wh ... nent, and adding ... and would perse ... other

is too plain that her heart is overhardened with deadly hate against the queen's majesty; the more, therefore, her majesty's safety is to be thought upon."

In Scotland, after desperate fighting, in which quarter on neither side was given or asked, an armistice for two months was agreed upon at the beginning of August, and the citizens of Edinburgh returned to the shells of their houses.

It remains to mention only the fate of the unlucky Earl of Northumberland. For many weeks after he was given up he was left at Berwick. After so long confinement in Lochleven, the change, with all its danger, was a relief to him. He was sometimes "abashed and sorrowful," but he rallied often, "talked of hawks and hounds, and other such vain matters," craving most, it seemed, for the green woods of Alnwick and the note of the huntsman's bugle. Hunsdon was uneasy at having the charge of him, for in Berwick there was no convenience for the safe keeping of state prisoners But he made no attempt to escape: he talked freely of the rebellion, telling all that he knew; excusing Westmoreland and taking the blame upon

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Scots.

himself; and Hunsdon, touched with his "simplicity," endeavoured to move Elizabeth in his favour. She paid no attention to his intercession. The earl had been attainted, and his trial was therefore no longer necessary. The second week in July an intimation came down that a warrant was to be issued for his execution, that he was to suffer at York, and that Hunsdon must conduct him thither.

Lord Hunsdon, irritated at his failure, replied that it was not his business to carry noblemen to execution, and briefly, he would not do it; "he would suffer some imprisonment rather;" if it was to be done at all, Sir John Foster, the warden of the middle marches, was the proper person; and if the writ came directed to himself, he would not act upon it.[1]

There was a slight pause, of which he took advantage to inte cede again. The earl's death, he said, would be of no advanta either to the queen or to the state. Sir Henry Percy, w would succeed to the title, had been implicated with Rid and was as guilty as his brother. "Her majesty had and di show mercy to a number that had as well deserved to di he,"[2] and "she would do herself a worse turn by settin Sir Henry than by keeping the earl alive."[3] Elizabeth f afterwards that Hunsdon was right, but for the presen Henry Percy had made his peace, and the order for the tion was sent down. She did not care to provoke resi by insisting that her cousin should see it obeyed. Si Foster carried the earl by slow stages along the line rebellion to Raby and Durham, to his own house at Top to York; and there, on the 22nd of August, very simpl and quietly, he left the world by the hard road which h had trodden before him.

[1] Hunsdon to Cecil, July 11: *MSS. Border.*
[2] Hunsdon to Burghley, July 14: Ibid.
[3] Hunsdon to Burghley, August 9: Ibid.

CHAPTER XXIII

CATHOLIC REACTION IN EUROPE — MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW—CIVIL WAR BREAKS OUT AGAIN IN SCOTLAND

The Founder of Christianity, when He sent the Apostles into [illegible]

He was come to set house against house and kindred against kindred—the son would deliver up his father to death, the brother his sister, the mother the child; the strongest ties of natural affection would wither in the fire of hate which His words were about to kindle. The prophecy, which referred in the first *instance to the struggle between the new religion and Judaic* bigotry, has fulfilled itself continuously in the history of the Church. Whenever the doctrinal aspect of Christianity has been prominent above the practical, whenever the first duty of the believer has been held to consist in holding particular *opinions on the functions and nature of his Master, and only* the second in obeying his master's commands, then always, with a uniformity more remarkable than is obtained in any other historical phenomena, there have followed dissension, animosity, and in later ages bloodshed.

Christianity, as a principle of life, has been the most powerful check upon the passions of mankind. Christianity as a speculative system of opinion has converted them into monsters of cruelty. Higher than the angels, lower than the demons, these are the two aspects in which the religious man presents himself *in all times and countries.*

The first burst of the Reformation had taken the Catholic powers by surprise. It had spread like an epidemic from town to town, and nation to nation. No conscientious man could pretend that the Church was what it ought to be. Indiscrimi*nate resistance to all change was no longer possible,* and with no clear perception where to stand or where to yield, half the educated world had been swept away by the stream. But the first force had spent itself. *The Reformers had quarrell* among themselves; the Catholics had recovered heart

their opponents' divisions; the Council of Trent had given them ground to stand upon; and with clear conviction, and a unity of creed and purpose, they had set themselves steadily, with voice and pen and sword, to recover their lost ground. The enthusiasm overcame for a time the distinctions of nations and languages. The Englishman, the Frenchman, the Spaniard, the Italian, the German, remembered only that he was a son of the Church, that he had one master the pope, and one enemy the heretic and the schismatic. In secular convulsions the natural distress at the sight of human suffering is seldom entirely extinguished. In the great spiritual struggle of the sixteenth century, religion made humanity a crime; and the most horrible atrocities were sanctified by the belief that they were approved and commanded by Heaven. The fathers of the Church at Trent had enjoined the extirpation of heresy, and the evil army of priests thundered the accursed message from every pulpit which they were allowed to enter, or breathed it with yet more fatal potency in the confessional. Nor were the other side slow in learning the lesson of hatred. The Lutheran and the Anglican, hovering between the two extremes, might attempt forbearance, but as the prosecuting spirit grew among the Catholics European Protestantism assumed a stronger and a sterner type. The Catholic on the authority of the Church made war upon *spiritual* rebellion. The Protestant believed himself commissioned like the Israelites to extinguish the worshippers of images. "No mercy to the heretics" was the watchword of the inquisition; "the idolaters shall die" was the answering thunder of the disciples of Calvin; and as the death-wrestle spread from land to land, each party strove to outbid the other for Heaven's favour by the ruthlessness with which they carried out its imagined behests. Kings and statesmen in some degree retained the balance of their reason. Coligny, Orange, Philip, even Alva himself, endeavoured at times to check the frenzy of their followers; but the multitude was held back by no responsibilities; their creeds were untempered by other knowledge, and they could indulge the brutality of their natural appetites without dread of the divine displeasure; while alike in priest's stole or Geneva gown, the clergy, like a legion of furies, lashed them into wilder madness.

On land the chief sufferers had been the Protestants: on the sea they had the advantage, and had used it. The privateers had for the most part disposed swiftly of the crews and passengers of their prizes. Prisoners were inconvenient and dangerous;

the sea told no tales, and the dead did not come back. With the capture of Brille and Flushing the black flag had been transferred to the shore. Sir Humfrey Gilbert, following the practice which he had learnt in Ireland, hung the Spaniards as fast as he caught them[1] The Hollanders had shown no mercy to the priests; they had been the instruments of Alva's Blood Council, and the measure which they had dealt was dealt in return to them. The Prince of Orange crossed the Rhine in July, coming forward towards Mons. He took Ruremonde by assault, and the monks in the abbeys and priories there were [illegible] its gates to him, and after [illegible] ple; [illegible] ing

While these scenes were in progress the admiral and Count Louis were preparing for the great campaign which was to end in the expulsion of the Spaniards, the death or capture of Alva, and the liberation of the Low Countries For the French government to go to war with Spain as the ally of the Prince of Orange would be equivalent to an open desire in favour of their own Huguenots; and with examples of the treatment of their brethren before them, the French priests and monks had reason to be alarmed at the prospect of Calvinist ascendency. The Paris clergy, confident in the support of the populace, had denounced throughout the summer the liberal policy of the king. One of them, De Sainte Foix, in the very court itself, had held out the story of Jacob and Esau to the ambition of the Duke of Anjou; and the favour shown to Count Louis, the alliance with excommunicated England, and the approaching marriage of the Princess Margaret had not tended to moderate their vehemence The war was pronounced to be impious; the Catholic king was fulfilling a sacred duty in crushing the enemies of God; and those who would have France interfere to save them were denounced as traitors to Holy Church.

Yet as the weeks passed on, it seemed as if all their exertions would be wasted. The traditions of Francis I. were not dead. The opportunity for revenging St. Quentin and tearing in pieces the Treaty of Cambray was splendidly alluring. The Catholic leaders, Guise, Nevers, Tavannes, even Anjou himself,

[1] "[illegible] would be glad to make good war with us, for that we [illegible] to take of them than they [illegible] *MSS. Flanders*.
[illegible] *Correspondence of Philip II.*: GACHARD

clamoured and threatened, but Charles was carried away by the temptation, and perhaps by nobler motives. Coligny said that whoever was against the war was no true Frenchman, and the court appeared to agree with Coligny. The Princess Margaret's marriage, independent of its political bearing, was in itself a defiance of the Papacy. Pius V. had refused absolutely to allow or sanction it till the King of Navarre was reconciled to the Church. Pius had died in the May preceding, but his successor, Gregory XIII., had maintained the objection, and though less peremptory, had attached conditions to his consent to which Charles showed no signs of submitting.

The only uncertainty rose from the attitude of England. Catherine de Medici had acquiesced in the war, with the proviso from the first that France and England should take up the quarrel together. As the Catholic opposition increased in intensity, Elizabeth's support became more and more indispensable. If the king risked the honour of France alone in a doubtful cause, and experienced anything like disaster, whatever else happened his own ruin was certain. As soon, therefore, as it was discovered that Elizabeth was not only playing with the Alençon marriage, but was treating secretly with Alva to make her own advantage out of the crisis, the queen-mother's resolution gave way—or rather, for resolution is not a word to be thrown away upon Catherine de Medici—she saw that war was too dangerous to be ventured. Religion, in its good sense and in its bad sense, was equally a word without meaning to her. She hated and she despised Calvinism; it was a new superstition as overbearing as the old, and without the sanction of traditionary existence; it had shaken her own power and her son's throne, and though, if it would serve her purpose, she was ready to make use of it, she was no less willing, if it stood in her way, to set her foot upon its neck. The impatience of the Huguenots would not endure disappointment, and their own safety was as much involved as that of the Prince of Orange in the intended campaign. The idea of a general massacre of the Huguenots had been long familiar to the minds of the Catholics. If the project on Flanders was abandoned, they knew that they would be unable to live in the districts of France where they were out-numbered, and they declared without reserve that they would fall back into the west, and there maintain their own liberties. But the reopening of the civil war was a terrible prospect. Coligny still had a powerful hold on the mind of the king. The queen-mother when she attempted to oppose

him found her influence shaking; and even she herself, as late certainly as the 10th of August, was hesitating on the course which she
the hope
when she
back upon her own cunning.

The French court, as the reader will remember, had broken up in June, to reassemble in August for the marriage of the princess. The admiral went down to Chatillon, and while there

peace of France, and he had been many times within hearing of the bells of Notre Dame with fewer friends about him than he

be there, and these were the men who for ten years had held at bay the united strength of Catholic France, and were now gathering in arms to encounter Alva. If evil was intended towards them some other opportunity would be chosen, and

to prevent, and which was regarded as the symbol of the intended policy of France. The dispensation from Rome was still withheld, but the Cardinal of Bourbon ventured in the face of its absence to officiate at the ceremony in the cathedral. The sister of the king became the bride of a professed heretic, and when the princess afterwards attended mass, her husband ostentatiously withdrew, and remained in the cloister. A few more days and Coligny would be on his way to the army. Though England had failed him, and might perhaps be hostile, the king still meant to persevere. The queen-mother
all her arts—tears
effect. Charles's
flexible, and his character was half formed. His mother had

led him from the time that he had left his cradle, and he had
high convictions, no tenacity of principle or vigour of will
contend against her. But there was a certain element of
hivalry about him which enabled him to recognise in Coligny
ne noblest of his subjects, and he had a soldier's ambition to
mulate his father and grandfather. The Duke of Anjou, who
elated afterwards the secret history of these momentous days,
said that whenever the king had been alone with the admiral,
the queen-mother found him afterwards cold and reserved
towards herself. Anjou himself went one day [1] into his brother's
cabinet; the king did not speak to him, but walked up and down
the room fingering his dagger, and looking as if he could have
stabbed him. If the war was to be prevented, something must
be done, and that promptly. Guise, notwithstanding his
seeming cordiality with Coligny, was supposed to be meditating
mischief, and the king, by Coligny's advice, kept the royal
guard under arms in the streets. Catherine, who hated both
their houses, calculated that by judicious irritation she might
set the duke and the admiral at each other's throats, and rid
herself at once of both of the too dangerously powerful subjects.
The admiral's own declaration had failed to persuade the
Guises that he was innocent of the murder of the duke's father
—Poltrot was still generally believed to have been privately
instigated by him—and Catherine intimated to the Duchesse de
Nemours, the late Duke of Guise's widow, that if she would,
she might have her revenge. Were Coligny killed, the king
would be again manageable. The Huguenots would probably
take arms to avenge his death. After a few days of fury a little
water would wash the blood from the streets of Paris, and th
catastrophe would be explained to the world as the last act o
the civil war.[1]

In becoming acquainted with the women among whom sh
was educated, we cease to wonder at the Queen of Scots' d
pravity. To the duchesse the assassination of the admiral w
the delightful gratification of a laudable desire. The Duke
Guise and his uncle the Duke of Aumale were taken into couns
an instrument was found in a man named Maurevert, who h
tried his hand already in the same enterprise, and having fai
was eager for a new opportunity. He was placed in a ho

[1] The 19th or 20th of August.

[2] This is the explanation given by the Duke of Anjou of his mot
conduct; and as he made no attempt to palliate either her treache
his own, there is no reason to question this truth.—Histoire de Fr
MARTIN, vol. ix.

between the Louvre and the Rue de Bethisi, where his intended [illegible]

[illegible]

Maurevert succeeded in shooting him. The work was not done *effectually; the gun was loaded with slugs*, one of which shattered a finger, the other lodged in an arm. The admiral was assisted home—the house from which the shot was fired was recognised as belonging to the Guise family, and the assassin was seen galloping out of St. Antoine on a horse known to be [illegible]

[illegible]

palace. Navarre and Condé came to him to say that their lives were in danger, and to ask permission to leave Paris. The king [illegible]

[illegible]

Condé and all who were afraid might come to the Louvre for protection. Charles placed a guard at Coligny's house; he sent his own surgeon to attend him, and went himself to his bedside.

The queen-mother and Anjou, not daring to trust the king out of their sight, accompanied him. The admiral desired to speak to Charles alone, and he sent them out of the room. When he followed them, they pressed him to tell them what Coligny had said Charles, after a pause, answered: "He said that you two had too much hand in the management of the state; and, by God's death, he spoke true"

So passed the 22nd of August The next morning Guise and Aumale came to the palace to say that if their presence in Paris caused uneasiness, they were ready to leave the city, and the king bade them go His words and manner were so completely reassuring that the Huguenot leaders put away their misgivings.

The Vidame of Chartres still urged flight, distrusting Charles's power to protect them; But Condé, Teligny, Rochefoucault, Montgomery, all opposed him. To retire would be to leave the admiral in danger. His wound appeared only to have increased the king's resolution to stand by him, and being themselves most anxious to prevent disturbance and give no cause of offence, they would not even permit their followers to watch in the streets A few hundred of them paraded in arms in the afternoon under the windows of the Hotel Guise, but not a single act of violence was committed to excuse a Catholic rising;

and when they broke up at night, they left the city ostentatiously to the ordinary police and the royal guard.

So far, the queen-mother's plot had failed. The admiral was not dead. The Huguenots had not broken the peace. The Guises were disgraced; and, if they were arrested, they were likely to reveal the name of their instigator. That same afternoon Catherine sent for the Count de Retz, Marshal Tavannes, and the Duc de Nevers, to the gardens of the Tuileries: all these were members of Charles's council, ardent Catholics, and passionately opposed to the Spanish war. After some hours' consultation, they adjourned, still undecided what to do, to the king's cabinet. For many years—ever since his father's death—to get possession of the king's person had been a favourite scheme of the Prince of Condé and the admiral. They had wished to separate him from his Italian mother, to bring him up a Protestant, or to keep him, at all events, as a security for their own safety. The conspiracy of Amboise had been followed once, if not twice, by similar projects. The admiral especially, ever prompt and decisive, was known throughout to have recommended such a method of ending the civil war. That at this particular crisis a fresh purpose of the same kind was formed or thought of, is in itself extremely improbable, and the court afterwards entirely failed to produce evidence of such a thing. It is likely, however, that impatient expressions tending in that direction might have been used by the admiral's friends. The temptation may easily have been great to divide Charles from his Catholic advisers at a time when he was himself so willing to be rid of their control, and, at all events, past examples gave plausibility to the suggestion that it might be so. With some proofs, forged or real, in her hand that he was in personal danger, the queen-mother presented herself to her son. She told him that at the moment that she was speaking the Huguenots were arming. Sixteen thousand of them intended to assemble in the morning, seize the palace, destroy herself, the Duke of Anjou, and the Catholic noblemen, and carry off Charles. The conspiracy, she said, extended through France. The chiefs of the congregations were waiting for a signal from Coligny to rise in every province and town. The Catholics had discovered the plot, and did not mean to sit still to be murdered. If the king refused to act with them, they would choose another leader; and whatever happened, he would be himself destroyed.

Unable to say that the story could not be true, Charles looked inquiringly at Tavannes and De Nevers, and they both con-

firmed the queen-mother's words. Shaking his incredulity with reminders of Amboise and Meaux, Catherine went on to say that *one man was the cause of all the troubles in the realm.* The admiral aspired to rule all France, and she—she admitted, with Anjou and the Guises, had conspired to kill him to save the king and the country. She dropped all disguise. The king, she said, must now assist them or all would be lost. The first blow had failed, but it must be repeated at once. The admiral, with the rest of the Huguenot leaders, must die

A grown man, in possession of his senses, would have suspected the story from the proposal with which it ended. Had there been truth in it, the hands which could murder could arrest: the conspirators could be taken in their beds, and, if found guilty, could be legally punished. It was easy to say, however, that the Huguenots were present in such force that the only safety was in surprise. Charles was a weak passionate [illegible], raved, [illegible] swore [illegible]d, then prayed them to try other means. But clear, cold, and venomous, Catherine told him it was too late. If there was a judicial inquiry, the Guises would shield themselves by telling all that they knew. They would betray her; they would betray his [illegible] himself. [illegible] not believ[illegible] to struggle.

"You refuse then," Catherine said at last. "If it be so, your mother and your brother must care for themselves. Permit us to go." The king scowled at her. "*Is it that you are afraid, sire?*" she hissed in his ear.

"By God's death," he cried, springing to his feet, "since you will kill the admiral, kill them all Kill all the Huguenots in France, that none may be left to reproach me Mort Dieu! Kill them all."

He dashed out of the cabinet. A list of those who were to die was instantly drawn up. Navarre and Condé were first included; but Catherine prudently reflected that to kill the Bourbons would make the Guises too strong. Five or six names were added to the admiral's, and these Catherine afterwards asserted *were* all that it was intended should suffer Even she herself, perhaps, was not prepared for the horrors that would follow when the mob were let loose upon their prey.

Night had now fallen. Guise and Aumale were still lurking in the city, and came with the Duke of Montpensier at Catherine's summons. The persons who were to be killed were in different parts of the town. Each took charge of a district. Montpensier promised to see to the palace; Guise and his uncle undertook the admiral; and below these, the word went out to the leaders of the already-organised sections, who had been disappointed once, but whose hour was now come. The Catholics were to recognise one another in the confusion by a white handkerchief on the left arm and a white cross in their caps. The royal guard, Catholics to a man, were instruments ready made for the work. Guise assembled the officers: he told them that the Huguenots were preparing to rise, and that the king had ordered their instant punishment. The officers asked no questions, and desired no better service. The business was to begin at dawn. The signal would be the tolling of the great bell at the Palace of Justice, and the first death was to be Coligny's.

The soldiers stole to their posts. Twelve hundred lay along the Seine, between the river and the Hôtel de Ville; other companies watched at the Louvre. As the darkness waned, the queen-mother went down to the gate. The stillness of the dawn was broken by an accidental pistol-shot. Her heart sank, and she sent off a messenger to tell Guise to pause. But it was too late. A minute later the bell boomed out, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew had commenced.

The admiral was feverish with his wounds, and had not slept. The surgeon and a Huguenot minister, named Malin, had passed the night with him. At the first sounds he imagined that there was an *émeute* of the Catholics at the court; but the crash of his own gate, and shots and shrieks in the court below the window told him that, whatever was the cause, his own life was in danger. He sat up in his bed. "M. Malin," he said, "pray for me; I have long expected this." Some of his attendants rushed half-dressed into the room. "Gentlemen, save yourselves," he said to them; "I commend my soul to my Saviour."

They scattered, escaping or trying to escape by the roofs and balconies; a German servant alone remained with him. The door was burst open immediately after, and the officer who was in charge of the house, a Bohemian servant of Guise, and a renegade Huguenot soldier, rushed in with drawn swords.

"Are you the admiral?" the Bohemian cried.

would commit itself, Charles promised to follow, and to contribute at once 200,000 ducats towards Elizabeth's expenses.[1]

The queen intimated that if the King of France would repeat the same promises in a letter under his own hand to herself, she would consider his proposal. For the present she would help the Prince of Orange underhand with men and money, but she could not venture into open war single-handed.[2] With this answer De la Mole took his leave, intending to return home at once and persuade Alençon to pay Elizabeth a visit. La Mothe went with him to London, where they met the news of the massacre, and found the city filled with panic-stricken Huguenots, who had crossed the Channel in open boats.

The French alliance had been the work of statesmen, and had never been liked by the English people. They had submitte[d] to it as a necessity, but with a bad grace, and with no expecta[-] tion that good would come of it. In an instant, with the shoc[k] of irresistible conviction, the belief spread that the treaty, th[e] suit of Alençon, the marriage of the Princess Margaret, th[e] affected anxiety of Charles to interfere in the Netherlands, we[re] all parts of a conspiracy to throw the Huguenots off their gua[rd] and thus destroy them. Armed with the letter which Char[les] wrote the day of the massacre, and in which he laid the bla[me] upon Guise, La Mothe attempted to check the torrent of [in-] vective;[3] but he was himself obliged after the next pos[t to] change his language, and his double story was taken as a f[resh] evidence of treachery. The atrocities in the French provi[nces] furnished fuel to the indignation. English witnesses o[f the] scenes at Rouen shut La Mothe's mouth and made explan[ation] impossible. The universal and not unnatural opinion was [that,] finding themselves baffled in the field, the papal, Frenc[h, and] Spanish courts had laid a plot for the general murder o[f Pro-] testants all over Europe, that the English and Scotch Ca[tholics]

[1] "En este tiempo que alli estuvó el Mot, que fueron 20 dias, le [...] tres correos despachados por el Rey con cartas suyas para él, y [...] ellas le decia que con toda instancia dixese y hiciese con la Re[yna ...] rompiese con su Magd Catolica, pues habia tan urgentes razones [...] para ello, vistas las diferencias que entre ambos habia, no perdi[...] buena conjunction de tiempo, y que habiendolo asi, se moverian [...] causas liatas para que el hiciese lo mismo publicamente, y para qu[e ...] su buen animo y voluntad que para esto tenia, en rompiendo e[...] de quince dias le daria luego 200 mil ducados. Mostrandole [...] Mot á la Reyna las proprias cartas que el Rey la escribia."—A[...] Fogaça á Ruy Gomez. Londres, Setiembre 8, 1572: *MSS. Si[mancas]*

[2] Antonio de Fogaça á Ruy Gomez. Londres, Setiembre 8, 15[72 ...] *Simancas.*

[3] La Mothe Fénelon au Roy, September 2: *Dépêches*, vol. v. [...]

Scotland nor England should be any more endangered by her." The particular arrangements were trusted to the messenger's discretion. Some near relations, both of Mar and Morton, would be required as hostages to ensure the execution, before Mary Stuart would be parted with; and Killigrew was instructed to induce the regent, if possible, himself to make the first move, and desire that she might be given up.[1]

The "certain respects" were a desire to escape the odium of an act which nevertheless required to be done; and a wish, that when the Queen of Scots' punishment came, she should be punished for a crime which neither France, nor Spain, nor the pope, nor the English Catholics could dare to defend. In England, she could be put on her trial for treason; but the law was doubtful, and the offence in the eyes of religion was a virtue. In Scotland, she could be convicted in the presence of the world of adultery and murder.

This momentous step was followed by another of no less marked significance. Elizabeth believed that the long-dreaded Catholic league, in its most frightful form, was about to become a reality; that England, as well as all other Protestant countries, must look to encounter the entire force which the pope could direct against them; and that she must at length adopt the open policy which Burghley had urged upon her so long, set her house in order, put an end to Scotch anarchy, ally herself in earnest with the Netherlands and the German princes, and prepare for the struggle which was to decide the fortunes of European liberty.

The Prince of Orange was lying at Ruremonde waiting for the French to advance to relieve Mons. Elizabeth remembered for the moment, in the words of Walsingham, that unless God had raised up the prince to entertain Spain, she would have had the fire long since at her own door. There was no hope of French assistance now. She ordered Sir Thomas Gresham to raise thirty or forty thousand pounds and take it to Hamburgh for the prince's use; and she prepared to improve at last in seriousness the footing which she already held on the coast of Holland. Sir H. Gilbert, who was laying siege to Tregouse, wrote that both that town and Middleburg could be reduced with a slight additional effort. The queen, with the consent of the people, might then be placed in entire possession of Walcheren and the other islands. The Zealand fleet would hoist her flag; the island

[1] Secret instructions to Sir H. Killigrew, September 20, in Burghley's hand: *MSS. Hatfield.*

themselves would pay the expense both of that and of the troops which she might send to defend them; and with the command of

[illegible]

were called out, the fleet at Portsmouth was ordered into the Downs to hold the Channel; and Sir John Hawkins, with twenty ships, equipped with Philip's money, and manned in part with the crews whom he had duped Philip into releasing from the Seville dungeons, sailed for the Azores to lie in wait for the Mexican gold fleet[2] So desperate was the English government at that moment, so determined to use any means to harass and embarrass the Catholic powers, that cannon and muskets were sent to the Mediterranean for the corsairs of Barbary;[3] whilst to make all sure at home, the Prince of Orange was told that if he could plunge down upon Louvain, seize the English refugees and send them home, he could not demand a price which Elizabeth would refuse to pay for them[4]

So much for Spain and Flanders It was more difficult to determine what attitude to assume towards the wretched Charles and Catherine The ratifications had but just been exchanged of a treaty of the closest friendship and the whole affair was as

[1] Sir Humphrey Gilbert was not afraid of responsibility "Sir," he [illegible] for revoking of me home, I will think them but for form, except your honour do write me your private letters to return"—Gilbert to Cecil, September 7: *MSS Flanders*

[illegible]

inexplicable as it was monstrous. Fears at first were entertained for Walsingham and his suite. It was ascertained, on this point, that the alarm was unnecessary. A guard had been placed at the embassy, where all the English in Paris had collected, and one or two only had been killed who had neglected to take refuge there. But with regard to the catastrophe itself, Walsingham's first letters were brief and obscure. He wrote under evident restraint, not daring to speak out lest his words might fall under eyes for which they were not intended.

Many days passed before the queen could bring herself to receive La Mothe Fénelon. The wish of the people was to tear the treaty to shreds, drive La Mothe out of the country, and fling defiance at the whole French nation. But impulses which may be honourable and right in individuals who risk only their own lives and fortunes are forbidden to those who are responsible for the safety of the commonwealth. It might be heroic, but it would hardly be prudent, to fling the gauntlet in the face of England's solitary ally. The quarrel was likely enough to come; but the queen had work enough upon her hands, and while she was preparing for the worst, she felt that she could do no solid good by anticipating it.

At length, towards the middle of September, the ambassador was informed that he would be admitted. The court was at Woodstock, on its way from Warwick to Windsor. The whole council was collected. Bedford and Bacon, though both unwell, had been particularly sent for. Queen, ministers, attendants, were all in mourning; and when La Mothe Fénelon was introduced, he was received in solemn silence. On such occasions the littleness of Elizabeth's character entirely disappeared, and the imperial majesty of her nobler nature possessed her wholly. If any misgiving crossed her mind on her own past proceedings, she showed no signs of it. She rose with a grave but not unkind expression. She drew La Mothe aside into a window, and asked him if the dreadful news which she had heard could possibly be true. La Mothe Fénelon, who was by this time perfect in his lesson, produced the story of the admiral's conspiracy, the plot for the surprise of the court, the king's danger, and the necessity of a desperate remedy in a desperate case.

Elizabeth did not say that she disbelieved him; but if the charge was true, the king, she said, had brought a stain upon his reputation from which she had hoped he would have been able to clear himself. She had persuaded herself that the miserable scenes in Paris had risen from some extraordinary accident which

time would . . .

. . . assador explained, protested, equivocated. He expressed a hope that at least the friendship between the two countries . . .

. . . conspiracy, and would protect such of the Protestants as had no share in it.

La Mothe, to turn the subject, said that the Queen of France was near her confinement, and he ventured to remind Elizabeth that she had promised to be god-mother to the child.

She told him that she had intended to send to Paris on that occasion the most honourable embassy that had ever left the shores of England. She felt now that she could trust no one whom she valued in a country where his life would be unsafe.

With these words she left him. He turned to the council, but only to hear the truth spoken to him in plainer language. The queen had been at least courteous; but he was not to go away with the belief that the English government accepted his excuses.

Lord Burghley said that the Paris massacre was the most horrible crime which had been committed in the world since the crucifixion of Christ. The very Spaniards and Italians would condemn such unheard of cruelty. He could not say on whom the guilt most rested, but the plighted word of the king had been violated, and a deed of unexampled infamy had been committed in his presence.

Words of this kind, La Mothe intimated, might lead . . .

. . . letter to Charles had been found among the admiral's papers, putting him on his guard . . . England. The queen-mo . . . and he nobly answered, "...

to England, he had shown himself in that letter a most faithful servant of the crown of France." [2] As little did he deign to conceal his disbelief of the pretended plot. He had been in daily communication with Montgomery, whom Catherine especially

[1] Burghley to Walsingham, September 19. Sir T. Smith to Walsingham October 13: Digges.
[2] Walsingham to Sir T. Smith, September 14: Digges.

accused. He was able to assert on his own knowledge that Montgomery was innocent of every evil intention; and he insisted fearlessly that, were the proofs against him and others as clear as they were futile, they ought to have been arrested and tried.

Had the massacre been really intended, the queen-mother would have cared little for the world's reception of it; but as the thing itself had been sudden, so it found her unprepared, and left her uncertain what to do. She had wished merely to avoid a war with Spain, in which she feared Elizabeth would forsake her, and to give the heads of the two factions a chance of destroying each other; but she was no more willing to throw herself into a Catholic crusade than into a Protestant war of liberty. The crown of Poland was likely to be vacant, and she was looking to the German princes to elect the Duke of Anjou. She showed no resentment, therefore, either at Elizabeth's language or at Walsingham's; she took no advantage of the pope's approbation; she endeavoured to divest the massacre of all religious character, and to represent it as a political misfortune; and she seemed to expect that the Alençon negotiation might go on as if nothing had happened. But Walsingham's confidence in her or Charles was shaken to the ground. The king told him that he could justify himself; Walsingham answered that, under every conceivable aspect, his conduct was without excuse. If the Huguenots had committed offences, they should have been punished with justice, and not with "the bloody sword of murderers." "The king's conscience," he wrote to England, "made him repute all those of the religion at home and abroad his enemies, and wish none of them alive; and, if he might himself give his opinion without presumption, he thought it less peril to live with them as foes than as friends." [1]

"If the admiral and his friends were guilty," said Sir Thomas Smith, "why were they not apprehended and tried? So is the journeyer slain by the robber, so is the hen by the fox, so the hind by the lion, and Abel by Cain. Grant that they were guilty—that they dreamt treason in their sleep—what did the innocent men, women, and children at Lyons? What did the sucking children and their mothers at Rouen, at Caen, at Rochelle? Will God sleep?"

There were some who, even at that wild moment, believed Charles to have been innocent. La Mothe told Leicester privately that the king detested the massacre, and would soon

[1] Walsingham to the Council, September 24: DIGGES.

revenge it;[1] and Sir Thomas Smith said, "he was sorry for the king, whom he esteemed the most worthy, the most faithful prince in the world; the most sincere monarch living."[2]

But Charles, at all events, was powerless. His weak intentions were drowned in wretchedness and desperation, and in him there

trophe had relieved him of a combination which a few weeks previously had threatened him with certain destruction. The revolt of the provinces which that combination had caused was in itself sufficiently formidable, and, if supported by England, might still be too much for him. It was no time for leagues against Elizabeth; it was no time to assist France to extricate

vantage of the irritation against France in England, to prevent the alliance from growing up again, to revive the Burgundian league, to contrast Spanish honour with French perfidy, and, instead of attacking Elizabeth, tempt her by every conciliatory offer to desert the unlucky Prince of Orange.

Thus Catherine found that, with all her skill, she could not blind Europe. She had forfeited the friendship of England; she had the civil war again upon her hands at home, and she had gained nothing but the pope's blessing. The Protestants of the

[1] Leicester to Walsingham, September 11: Digges.
[2] Sir T. Smith to Walsingham, September 26.
[3] Aguilon to Cayas, November 6: Teulet, vol. v.

credit, had to begin the old work over again with twenty Colignys in the field for one, to clamour in the midst of the world's scorn that the massacre was an accident, and to sue in the very dirt to Elizabeth for her consent still to be her grandchild's godmother,[1] to let the treaty stand, and to entertain Alençon's suit.

But her efforts were for the most part useless. Walsingham was not recalled, but the intercourse between the two courts was reduced to cold courtesy. The queen-mother's anxiety was construed into a further step in the conspiracy, and for a second noces Galliques to be enacted in England.

Confidence in France was gone, and English statesmen had now to decide whether they should maintain or desert the Netherlands. It was seen that they at first thought the alternative would not be offered them; that they would have war immediately on their hands with France and Spain combined. But they soon perceived that of this there was at least no immediate danger; while the prospects of Orange were certainly not favourable enough to tempt Elizabeth unnecessarily to his side. On the news of the massacre, his army had at once dissolved. He had himself retired into Holland, and Count Louis capitulated in Mons when he found that no relief could reach him from any quarter. The garrison was at its last extremity, and in a few more days must have surrendered unconditionally. To his own and the world's surprise, the Duke of Alva consented to terms rarely granted to insurgents by the most lenient commander. The Huguenot troops marched out with the honours of war, to be cut to pieces by their own countrymen when they crossed the French frontier; and Count Louis himself, after being received with marked distinction in the Spanish camp, was permitted to go where he pleased.

The duke apologised to Philip for his unusual clemency, saying simply that he had reasons for it, on which he would not dilate. It became immediately evident that he desired to create a favourable impression upon England. Ferocity at that particular moment would have exasperated the passions of the people beyond control, while forbearance would contrast with the atrocities of Paris, and give Elizabeth an excuse, of which he believed that she would avail herself, for leaving the Netherlands to their natural master. Antonio de Guaras supplied the duke daily with the most minute account of the English move-

[1] The Queen-mother and the King to La Mothe Fénelon, September and October: *Dépêches*, vol. vii.

ments, and he had soon reason to congratulate himself on his prudence. The old friends of the Spanish alliance were busy again. De Guaras spent money freely, giving as much as ten thousand crowns to some one unnamed who had influence with the queen; and he ascertained in a little while that the reinforcements which were to have gone to Gilbert were suspended, that Gresham's departure had been counter-ordered, that money had been sent to the prince, but less than was originally intended;

the jealousy of the French ambassador appeared beneath the

at Paris, and professed an ardent desire for the restoration "of the ancient amity between the crown of England and the house of Burgundy." [3]

The prince's cause after the breaking up of his army appeared to be irretrievably lost. No sane politician could believe that a few towns, a few marshy islands, and a population to be counted by thousands, could resist successfully the first military power in the world. It might be noble to rush forward in defence of

liberty. If a struggle for life and death became inevitable, England might have to stake her fortunes on the chance, and sink or swim with the revolted provinces; but Elizabeth and her ministers might well doubt whether they ought to venture needlessly so tremendous a risk in a quarrel which was but half their own. It might be that, looking to the broad interests of the Reformation, England was better fulfilling her duty by maintaining her own freedom than by undertaking to fight the battles of every country with whose cause she sympathised.

Could England and France have understood and trusted each other in the past summer, then, indeed, the face of Europe might have been changed; but the characters of the sovereigns of the two countries, and the dispositions of their subjects, were alike unfavourable. Each government had with too much justice suspected the sincerity of the other. France had seen Elizabeth corresponding with Alva in the midst of the most opposite professions, and the catastrophe of August had justified the misgivings all along entertained by the opponents of the French alliance. The opportunity, at all events, had now passed. It remained for Elizabeth to do the best that she could for her subjects and herself, and her manifest interest pointed to the prudence of deserting the Low Countries and accepting Philip's offered friendship. If she entertained any doubts about it, she must have been fortified in her conclusions by the consternation which was produced among the Catholics. At the moment when the massacre at Paris seemed to have opened the way to their immediate triumph, the refugees and the friends of Mary Stuart found their hopes utterly blighted. With the pope at their back, and European fanaticism enthusiastic to take arms in their cause, they found their movements paralysed; and if the Protestants on one side reproached Elizabeth for abandoning the prince, the reconciliation of Philip with an excommunicated sovereign was more terrible and more destructive to the Catholics.

For a long time they could not believe their senses, and they continued to besiege the court of Madrid with plans for the conquest of England and with reproaches for Alva's coldness in executing them. Doctor Sanders, in the name of the Louvain exiles, repeated in the usual language that England was the cause of the Netherlands' rebellion, and that till England was subdued, the rebellion would never be put down. He drew a picture of the great English Catholic party—one in heart, one in creed, and one in feeling, while the heretics were split into a

hundred sects—Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Puritans, hating each other, distrusting the queen, and looking with dread to what would follow on her death. He sketched Elizabeth as she was represented in the Catholic imagination—a woman detested for her avarice, abhorred for the infamy of her life; setting herself up above all that was called God; and with her

open boat upon the English shore, to be welcomed as a deliverer. The heretics, made effeminate by vice and luxury, would fly at the first shot, and God would be on his side.[1] "The king," wrote one of Sanders's companions, "should remember his honour, and not allow France to take his place as the champion

have rather died in fighting Spaniards than have shaken hands with the Duke of Alva, especially when Alva, having been reproached for his gentleness at Mons, began to show himself

over Europe, and at the end of October a sermon was preached at St. Paul's to an enormous crowd, inflaming the passions of the people, appealing to Papists as well as Protestants to be true to their country, and threatening both alike with Philip's galleys.[3]

[1] Doctor Sanders to Philip II., 1572. Parecer acerca las cosas de Irlanda y Inglaterra, October 11, 1572. *Informacion dada por Don Guerau*, November, 1572. *MSS Simancas.*

[2] "Es increible quanta honra y fama este solo hecho del Françes el verano pasado le ha ganado por todo, y quanta esperança ahora todos los

But both in Spain and in England temperate counsels prevailed. Philip could not without a pang submit to have his piety suspected, but he allowed himself to be guided by Alva; while pressing danger in Ireland, of which the reader will presently hear, the deeper detestation of France, the interests of commerce, the despair of the prince's success, and the sincerity of Spain in desiring a reconciliation, of which Alva's correspondence leaves no kind of doubt, continued to determine the policy of Elizabeth and her cabinet. Sir Humfrey Gilbert was recalled in earnest, and the prospect of a liberal reconstruction of Europe having failed on the one hand, and Philip on the other having shown so great a disregard of the pope as to be willing to renew his relations with England, Lord Burghley considered that it would be well if by some other means the great questions of the time could be amicably composed. In a remarkable conversation with de Guaras he renewed the proposals made long before by Henry VIII. to Philip's father. "He said that if the King of Spain would consent to some truly general council in which all opinions could be fairly represented, and if the practical abuses of the Holy See could be reformed, neither England nor Elizabeth would refuse to return to communion with Christendom. His mistress was neither Calvinist nor Huguenot, and she believed as much as Philip in the need of authority in the Church. The general interests of the world required reconciliation and peace, for the sake of which all parties ought to be ready to make sacrifices; and to make a beginning, the queen would feel herself happy if the King of Spain would allow her to mediate between the crown of Spain and the Prince of Orange.[1] England, Lord Burghley said, was willing to restore the treasure which had been the original cause of the quarrel, to put down piracy and privateering, and to discontinue the protection hitherto afforded to the King of Spain's revolted subjects. A commission might sit to determine the outstanding claims of Spain and England one upon the other; and as soon as they were settled, the ancient league could be renewed. The Catholic king would be expected to forbid the English refugees to reside any longer in his dominions, and pending the general settlement of religion, English merchants and sailors trading to Spain were not to be molested by the inquisition as long as they complied in public with the laws."

The Duke of Alva, had he been left to his own judgment, would have accepted these conditions without scruple or hesitation. The Hollanders were preparing for a desperate resistance,

[1] De Guaras to Alva, October 12, and November 4: *MSS. Simancas.*

and the Spanish commander estimated their ability to hold their [illegible]

[illegible]

Low Countries against the English Catholics. To himself they had been only a source of irritation and trouble, but they were pensioners and favourites of his master; and, before he could reply, he had to refer for instructions to Philip. The states-general of Holland made use of the delay to send a deputation to Elizabeth to entreat her not to desert them. She paused upon her answer till Philip had decided; and, to show that she was not afraid, the English fleet continued rigorously to scour the Channel, and arrest every ship on its way from Spain to Flanders. But the bolder the front which she maintained, the more eager was Alva for peace with her, the more he pressed his master not to hesitate in compliance. His army had sat down before Haarlem after the sack of Mechlin. He found the town defended with a skill which the ablest engineers and the best trained troops in the world could not have exceeded. He was losing his men by [illegible]

[illegible]

with a[1] power which had treated him with such insolence was more than humiliating. To consent to limit the power of the inquisition, and to expel from his dominions those English [illegible]

[illegible]

France rather than to him to be their champion, he covered the margins of his despatches with interjections and lamentations; and the refugees plied him with complaints and reproaches, which cut the deeper because they were moderately urged. One of the party of Louvain, whose name does not appear, wrote a remarkable letter to the Duchess of Feria, which was intended for Philip's eyes.

"Although," so it ran, "your grace's words to us are always consolatory, yet we are dispirited by the long delay, and by seeing that nothing is done for us. We are driven to fear that we are deserted, and, against our natural inclinations, we turn our eyes towards the French, in whom alone we see the necessary courage, energy, spirit, and resolution. Your grace may be assured that we neglect no exertions to keep our people loyal

[1] Alva to Philip, January 17. *Correspondence*, vol. ii.

to the crown of Spain; but, in our own defence, and in return for the confidence which his majesty places in us, we beseech your grace to explain to him that we shall be powerless, if he allows France to forestall him in moving on our behalf. All the world sees that conscience, duty, loyalty, justice, even gratitude, will then oblige us to go with the rest, and in the service of God and of our lawful sovereign (the Queen of Scots), accept the assistance of the first prince who will espouse our cause.

"The king can receive no more from us than we possess. Our hearty desire is to be his in all sincerity, and, without doubt, had our powers equalled our goodwill, the position both of England and Scotland towards him would have beeen now far different from what it is.

"You can hardly imagine the honour and glory which the French have gained for themselves by their exploit last summer. The good all the world over now look to them. And it is the more necessary that the Catholic king should exert himself to retrieve his name and credit. The French, as he well knows, are quick to resolve and swift to execute. Their influence at present is immense, both with the Holy See and with the English Catholics.[1] If they undertake the reformation of our country, they will win the admiration not only of the English, but of all people everywhere who favour the cause of religion. When they have begun the work, it will be small honour to the Catholic king to follow suit with them; and, if he is prudent, he will not leave the entire field for them to occupy. After all the hopes which, for fourteen years, have been fixed upon his majesty, it will be strange indeed to see another step in and do the work, and that other one from whom, four months ago, no one expected anything. In justice and reason, the Queen of Scots and her subjects will be most obliged to those who are the first to help them. The French cardinals at Rome are now certain that their own people will take the initiative, and they count on securing the whole advantage to themselves. For our own part, we can but hope that his Catholic majesty will forestall them, for his interest's sake as much as for his honour.

"The pretended Queen of England is endeavouring to place the government of Scotland in the hands of the Earl of Morton, who murdered the secretary and the late king. Through his

[1] "*Bien entiende su Magd las resoluciones pressuroras y las executiones* *cabeça abaxo* naturalmente in la nacion Françesa; su reputacion ahora es grande con la Sede Apostolica, y su credito grande con todos los Catolicos *de nuestra nacion.*"

means, Cecil looks to get possession of the prince; and not Cecil, but the other,[1] will make an end of the good queen. This once done, the French will carry all before them. As long as the Queen of Scots lives, his majesty can turn the tables on them, but he will lose his advantage when she is dead, unless he has the prince in his hands, where the queen, his mother, desires to see him. She knows that France will not allow Scotland and [illegible]

[illegible]

party in the whole island

"Inform his majesty of the commissioners sent to England by the states. We are told that the pretended queen has promised [illegible]

[illegible]

her answer, when she has already consented to what the states ask of her: while she will say in public that she can take no part against her dear brother the King of Spain, she will entertain the envoy of the Duke of Alva with conspicuous courtesy; and she will heap favours on him, that he may stand her friend at Brussels."[2]

The fears and jealousies which divided Catholic Europe are nowhere better expressed than in this letter. The writer believed—or, at any rate, he wished Philip to believe—that Elizabeth was tottering to her fall; and, being a warm friend of Spain, he affected to dread lest the French should step in and sweep away the pope's blessing, the glory, and the prize. The arguments were well calculated to work on the King of Spain; but, unfortunately, the Duke of Alva's views of the situation were totally different. In the first place, he disbelieved in the completeness of the Catholic revolution in France. He knew [illegible] day and night to recover [illegible] ench princess was born in [illegible] to fulfil her promise to be the child's godmother, that Elizabeth had at last consen[illegible] and the Earl of Worcester went to represent her at the cere[illegible]. That an English nobleman—one, too, of notoriously Ca[illegible] tendencies—should go in state to Paris so soon after the [illegible] sacre, was considered by the Protestants a hideous sc[illegible]

[1] "El otro que Cecil." I suppose this means Morto[illegible]

[2] —— to the Duchess of Feria, January 23, 1573.—[illegible]

hideous, indeed, that the earl was attacked by a privateer mid way between Dover and Calais. Four of his men were killed and seven others wounded.[1] But to Alva the continuance of any kind of friendly relations was alarming. He was not satisfied that the projects of France on Flanders might not still be revived. Even the Alençon marriage did not yet seem wholly impossible. Elizabeth still talked of it, and Burghley still wished it;[2] while,

[1] The attack was believed in London to have been instigated by some of the English bishops. A Spanish agent writes: "Creese que fué por trato de los Obispos de Inglaterra que deseaban que la Reyna no enviase personage al dicho bautismo."—Relacion de las Cartas de Antonio Fogaça á Cayas, Enero, 1573: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Wherever documents survive, which reveal what was passing under the surface, we find everywhere in Europe organisations of complex treachery. At the end of 1572 a person appeared in London professing to come from the Duc d'Alençon, with a private message that the duke detested the atrocities committed by his mother and brother, that he wished to escape to England, and afterwards, with the queen's assistance, to place himself at the head of the Huguenots; when, by doing service to the good cause, he hoped to win his way to her hand.

The following letter, which was apparently one of a series, will explain the principal points of the transaction. The original is among Burghley's papers at Hatfield. How it fell into English hands is unexplained. Don Lucidor is the Duc d'Alençon, Madame de Lisle is Elizabeth:—

"London, December 1572.

"A Don Lucidor.

"M. Lucidor,—This will be the last of my letters. You will see by it that after having carefully looked into the state of things here, I conclude as the sum and result of all that I have seen and heard since my arrival that your best course will be to follow your first impulse and come over. I am confident that when you are once here, your affairs will go as you desire. You must understand in the first place that Madame de Lisle's coldness arose from the distrust which she had been taught to feel of myself. She could not wisely have promised anything in a matter of such consequence on the credit of a letter merely signed by your hand. Secondly, having seen their neighbour's house so lately on fire, they fear that the massacre may be a menace to all Europe, that there will be confusion and wars everywhere, and that those who wear the same livery as the late victims should be on their guard against a similar fate. They are wise enough to see the advantage of your proposal. While you are in this country you will be a centre round which all the French will be constrained to rally who would defend themselves against the enemies of the Gospel. Consider, then, whether they have not good cause to wish Don Lucidor here. They would give their lives and fortunes to keep you.

"Moreover, so far as I can learn from Madame de Lisle's words, there is no prince in the world whom, if she marry, she would prefer to yourself; and that she does intend to marry I have already assured you. When she spoke to me about you she said, with a vehemence of affection, that there was nothing in her power which she would not do to help you. She would risk everything sooner than allow harm to befall one who might one day stand in so close a relation towards her. She would not use the precise words which you desire, but her eyes seemed to say to me, 'Bid your friend come and despair of nothing. He, if any one, shall be my husband.' Do then as you proposed, and come. She desires to see you, but nothing will be done through Madame la Serpente (the queen mother), you can imagine why; all advances from that quarter are su

[illegible] his intercourse with the queen.

"The king," he said, "appeared to fear that, treaty or no treaty, English pirates would still prey on Spanish commerce, and English Protestants would send help to the Prince of Orange. [illegible]

because of the massacre. They are taken as an invitation to a second Paris banquet.

"Separate yourself from the court. While you remain there no one [illegible]

[illegible] able. She changed and cooled afterwards; nor has she any one now to advise her to think of you. Convince her of your innocence; show that you will be the protector of the Protestants, and they will pray you then to come to them, and you will give the law to Christendom. Germany is arming. The English are volunteering to serve with the Huguenots. [illegible] retard," etc.

The letter is in French, the writer unknown. Evidently he had been [illegible]

[illegible]

1573: *MSS. Flanders.*

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ight be so. But connivance was less dangerous than open
avowed support. His majesty was afraid of discouraging
English Catholics. But if, for the sake of the English
holics, he was to lose the Low Countries, not much would be
ned to the Catholic cause; and, after all, the treaty was no
ch considerable thing, nor would there be any necessity for
serving it with particular strictness. Kings of course, like
her people, ought to keep their words. But throughout his
fe," the Duke of Alva said, "he had observed that the dealings
f princes with one another depended on conditions different
rom those which determined the obligations of private gentle-
nen. He had learnt that lesson from the conduct of that noble
cavalier and great prince his majesty's noble father the emperor.[1]
The present difficulties would never have arisen if his majesty
would have been guided by himself about Ridolfi. The later
complications had all arisen from that one disastrous error.
He was sorry that his advice did not please his majesty. His
majesty's letters to him consisted of little else but answers to his
arguments. He did not pretend to be invariably right, but the
differences of opinion between his majesty and his representa-
tives occasioned infinite evils. For his own part, he could but
repeat that, at a time when every soldier who could be spared
from Spain was required in the Netherlands, his majesty's notion
of entering upon a religious crusade was simply a temptation of
the devil."

Still struggling against the degradation, yet convinced that
Alva was right, Philip after this letter withdrew his objections,
and gave the duke his way. He still required, however, that
although the refugees might be required to leave the Low
Countries, he was not to be obliged to surrender them to "the
knife" of Elizabeth.[2] He reserved a power of refusing the
ratification should the progress of the war in Holland prov
more favourable than the duke anticipated; and, not altogeth
accepting Alva's theory of his obligations, he introduced a clau
which limited the duration of the treaty to two years.

Thus sanctioned, Alva sent orders to de Guaras to make fi
arrangements with Burghley. By the middle of April the po
of Spain and the Low Countries were formally opened to Eng

[1] "Entendi que las negociaciones de los reyes pendian de muy
ferentes cabos que los negocios de los particulares caballeros que anda
por el mundo, y desta manera lo vi tratar á su Padre de V. Magd qu
tan gran caballero y tan gran Principe."—Alva to Philip, March 18,
Correspondence of Philip II., vol. ii.

[2] "Al cuchillo de aquella muger."

to Elizabeth, "who if she now made good offers, would show her more favour than she did when she had more friends."[1]

The catastrophe of the 24th of August appeared at first to complete the prostration which already had gone so far. Grange was a sincere Protestant—his brother James Kirkaldy, who was in Paris at the time on a mission to the court, narrowly escaped murder, and was horrorstruck by the scenes which he witnessed there;[2] and Killigrew, who, besides his secret commission for the surrender and execution of Mary Stuart, was directed to use the moment to bring about a general reconciliation, found this part of his duty seemingly of easy accomplishment. The nobler mind of Scotland was startled out of its petty feuds. A heartfelt indignation worked in all parties to extinguish the latest remnants of French sympathies; and everyone, whatever his creed or politics, was eager to wash his hands of all connection with a court which was presided over by assassins.

"Those that have any fear of God," reported Killigrew, "break out into open speeches of detesting the cruelty, and have exhibited a supplication to the regent to take counsel in time, and prevent the danger apparent from drawing nearer. Every man crieth out to join with England in some straighter league."[3]

The nobles, long "nuzzled" in bloodshed, would not in themselves have been very deeply affected: but the power of the nobles was fast declining; a middle class, made strong by faith in God, was stepping forward into energy and self-reliance; and in worldly strength as well as spiritual power, they were making good their place in the commonwealth. They had bought arms and had learnt to use them, and were no longer at the mercy of the steel-coated retainers of the earls and barons. Their ministers were as ready with hand as tongue. Durie of Leith, a friend of Knox, was famous in the pulpit, but "the gown na sooner off, and the Bible out of hand, when on gaed the corslet, and fangit was the hackbut and to the field."[4] They had taken to the sea like the Protestants of the West, "and their navy was so augmented as was a thing almost incredible."

[1] Maitland to the Queen of Scots, August 10 (decipher): *MSS. Scotland.*

[2] James Kirkaldy to them of the Castle, August 24: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

[3] Killigrew to Burghley, September 29: *MSS. Scotland.*

[4] Diary of James Melville of St. Andrews.

Killigrew noted the change, and gathered hopes from it for Scotland's future.[1]

On men like these the massacre of St. Bartholomew told with tremendous effect, and for a time their indignant passion

sagacity he interpreted out of the Bible the Scotland of his own

incarnation of the evil spirit in wicked men and wicked deeds. He spoke of Mary Stuart—he spoke of the Hamiltons, till he made the St. Andrew's students "grue and tremble" to listen to him. He knew that there would be no end to Scotland's miseries till the last remnant of Mary Stuart's faction was

later England
ough the mist
the castle of

Edinburgh, that it should rin like a sandglass, and spew out the captain with shame," and when the power of passion was upon him, the sinews of his weak body became strong again, "and he

entreaty of the people, stipulating only that he should not be required "to temper his tongue," or "cease to speak against the men of the castle." He crossed the Forth to Leith on the 23rd of August; on the 31st he preached in St Giles's, but the church was too large for his strength, and for his few remaining Sundays a side aisle was curtained off where he could speak with less exertion.

It was easy to see how the news of St Bartholomew would

[1] Killigrew to Burghley, November 11 *MSS. Scotland*

[2] "*I saw him,*" *writes Melville,* "*every day of his doctrine gae hulie and fear, with a furring of marticks about his neck and a staff in his hand, and godly Richard Bannatyne his servant holding up the other oxter. He was lifted up into the pulpit, where he leaned at his first en*—"

[3] Melville

affect him. A convention of the estates was called by the regent in October, and Knox rallied his powers for the last time to preach to them. Du Croq the French ambassador was present; turning to him as a Hebrew prophet might have turned, Knox said, "Go tell your king that sentence has gone out against him, that God's vengeance shall never depart from him nor his house, that his name shall remain an execration to the posterities to come, and that none that shall come of his loins shall enjoy that kingdom unless he repent." The prediction was bold, for the Queen of France was pregnant, and the news of the birth of a dauphin was hourly looked for. Du Croq bade the regent check the tongue which was reviling an anointed king. The regent said he might not silence the minister of God, and the ambassador left Edinburgh in anger. Some twenty months later Charles IX. lay dying of hæmorrhage—he was haunted with hideous dreams; the darkness was peopled with ghosts which were mocking and mowing at him, and he would start out of his sleep to find himself in a pool of blood—blood—ever blood. The night before his end, the nurse—a Huguenot, heard him sob and sigh. "Ah!" he muttered, "but I was ill-advised. God have mercy on me and on my country; what will become of that? what will become of me? I am lost—I know it but too well." The nurse told him that the blood would be on the heads of those who had misled him—on them and on their accursed counsels. He sighed again, and blessed God that he had left no son to inherit his crown and his infamy.[1]

While the Scots were in this humour the second commission of the English envoy was no less welcome than the first. The Queen of Scots was the representative of the creed which had caused the perpetration of the massacre, and which blessed it afterwards by the mouth of the pope. The Queen of Scots by her crimes had caused Scotland's misery. To her had been traced the murder of the regent Murray. To bring her to justice at last—to try, convict, and execute her, would be one act in vindication of honour and right amidst the stream of universal iniquity. The Earl of Mar, after consulting Morton, told Killigrew that "it would be the best, and as it were the only salve for the cure of the great sores of the commonwealth." There might be difficulties in the details, but with goodwill on both sides they would be overcome; and as Elizabeth had given Killigrew his instructions with her own mouth, and as there could be no doubt that Burghley would do his best to hold her

[1] MARTIN, *Histoire de France.*

to her purpose, there was hope at last of a good end to the grand problem. Mary Stuart being dead, all other questions would

successor. England must, of course, stand conspicuously forward, and take its share in the responsibility of the execution; and nothing would then be wanting for the complete pacification of Scotland and the union of the whole island in a common policy.

The Earl of Mar's confidence that Elizabeth would commit herself to more than the surrender was not shared by Killigrew. She had charged him on no account to allow her name to appear.[1] He believed—he probably knew—that having made up her mind that she wished the Queen of Scots to be put away, her majesty wanted to shift upon the Scots both the deed and the reproaches of the world.

He declined to make engagements beyond the letter of his instructions; and the regent at once drew up in writing the conditions on which he was prepared to become the judge and executioner of his late sovereign

The Queen of England must openly and without reserve acknowledge the young king, and constitute herself his protector; and the English Parliament must pass an Act declaring that the prosecution and conviction of Mary Stuart should not affect the claims upon the crown which the king would inherit from his

Edinburgh must be compelled or induced to submit to the king's authority; and finally, the Earls of Huntingdon and Bedford must be present at the execution, with two or three

immediate union of the Catholic powers against her, when she

Scotland

[2] Certain notes given to Killigrew on the part of the regent and Morton October 28: Ibid

was uncertain altogether of the position in which she was about to find herself either towards France or Spain or the Prince of Orange. If, as there was too much reason to suppose, the death-struggle for Catholic reascendency was at last to begin, there would then have been an adequate reason for dealing decisively with Mary Stuart; but it seemed as if nothing short of an extreme exigency of this kind could nerve the queen to sufficient resolution—as if, the moment that the strain was taken off, she relapsed into her old uncertainty. Maitland ever maintained, and defended his own conduct by maintaining, that whatever Elizabeth might threaten, or might at times believe that she meant to do, she would end by restoring Mary Stuart to her throne. Maitland had accurately judged the queen's natural tendency, and there were traitors about her who for ever encouraged her weakness, and whose influence was perpetually at work to thwart her wiser advisers.

Under no circumstances would she have consented to the regent's last demand. Before the conditions reached her, she had already repented of her momentary firmness, and Leicester on the 2nd of November had to write to Burghley that "her majesty had been in strange resolutions," that "he never saw her further from that they looked for" from the time that the Queen of Scots had first begun to trouble her peace, and that he could but pray that God would put a better determination in her heart for her own sake and for theirs.[1]

At this moment the unfortunate Scotland was again convulsed by the death of the Earl of Mar. Poison or natural illness—it was uncertain which—threw the regency open, after every one except the party in the castle had acquiesced in Mar's authority. The rivalries of the great families and the suspended feuds and hatreds were at once revived. The natural command of the section who had adhered throughout to the king devolved on Morton. At one time Morton had maintained almost the entire weight of the civil war, and he alone had never truckled to France or lent himself to the thousand intrigues for the restoration of the queen. There was no other nobleman in Scotland on whom the English ministers could rely. Yet Morton was licentious in his private life, and in public avaricious and unprincipled. His creed was purely political; and if the times made him necessary to the Protestants, they none the less distrusted his principles and censured his character. His power was great, however, and his ability considerable. If Mar had nominally governed Scot-

[1] Leicester to Burghley, November 2: MURDIN.

land, Morton had governed Mar. None but he could carry on the policy on which the settlement of the country had been so

was absent from London when the news arrived; but he im-

He urged his mistress to be quick and prompt "in showing herself careful for the maintenance of her friends, whose ruin would be her own danger." He told her that she must send men and money to the borders, and give *Lord Hunsdon* discretionary powers to act in Scotland. "Her majesty talked to and fro what was best"—but as usual could not resolve. Leicester reminded her "of her long cold dealing, which had caused many to fall away from the cause when, with hope of maintenance, they would have clung to it" That cause, without assistance,

were days, and days were years, and too many were gone already." Leicester ventured to say "that never prince had been better advised than she; that she could now perceive how well it was for princes to trust faithful and known councillors," that if she had but listened to one among them all "the trouble like to happen would not have been possible." But his words were wasted. She had fallen into one of her periodic fits of tenderness about the Queen of Scots, which she conceived that her improved relations with Spain enabled her to indulge, and Leicester could but entreat Burghley to hurry back to her side:

envoy that he could do nothing without money; the king's cause and his own life would both be in danger; and therefore, "if the queen's majesty would not help him in that which of necessity he must have, and which should be as little as might be required with reason, he would renounce the regiment." [1]

In the midst of these chicaneries, an event had taken place by the side of which they were doubly contemptible. The apostle of the Reformation had passed away—passed away, noble in death as in life, the one supremely great man that Scotland possessed—the one man without whom Scotland, as the modern world has known it, would have had no existence.

Shortly after Knox's last sermon, a paralytic stroke prostrated his remaining strength; he became unable to read, and for a day or two his mind was wandering. He recovered his senses, but only to know that the end was not far off; and still thinking of his country, and of his country's present trials, he sent for the elders of the kirk, to charge them for the last time to be constant. His next anxiety was for Grange. Grange, who as a boy had shared in that forlorn enterprise at St. Andrew's when Beton went to his account, was a person whom Knox had long loved and prized. In the last years, by some fatality, he had been led by Maitland into the ways of foolishness; beyond and beside the spiritual aspects of the matter, none knew better than Knox in what way the long obstinacy of the defenders of the castle would end at last, and he made a final effort to save his old friend from destroying himself. "Go," he said to David Lindsay, a minister who came to his bedside, "go to yon man of the castle. Tell him I warn him in the name of God to leave that evil cause, and give over the castle. If not, he shall be brought down over the walls with shame and hung against the sun."

Lindsay went as he was bidden and saw Grange, and "somewhat moved him." But he talked to Maitland, and Maitland turned the warning into ridicule. "Go, tell Mr. Knox," he said at last in answer, "that he is but a drytting prophet." "Well, well," said Knox, when the words were brought back to him, "I have been earnest with my God anent they twa men. For the one, I am sorry that sa should befall him; yet God assures me there is mercy for his soul. For the other I have na warrant that ever he shall be well."

On the 17th of November the elders of the congregation came to his bed to receive his last instructions. He went over

[1] Killigrew to Burghley, January 1: *MSS. Scotland.*

the chief incidents of the last year with them. "He had done his best to instruct them," he said, "and if at any time he had spoken hardly, it was not from passion or ill-will, but only to overcome their faults. Now that he was going away, he could
make no compromise with
the castle—rather to fly
remain at home in the
company of the wicked."

Two days later, the 19th, Morton came, and Ruthven and Glencairn; and to them he spoke at length, though what passed none ever knew. Afterwards some fine lady came "to praise him," to flatter him in a foolish way for the great things which he had done. "Hush, hush!" he said, "flesh is ower proud, and needs no means to esteem the self."

God for it. He had wrestled with Satan, and had prevailed. He repeated the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer, pausing after the first petition to say, "Who can pronounce so holy words!" It was the day on which a fast had been appointed by the convention for special meditation upon the massacre. After sermon, many eager persons came to his bedside, and, though his breath was coming thick and slow, he continued to speak in broken sentences

The next morning the end was evidently close. He was

"Unto Thy hand, O Lord," he cried, "for the last time, I commend my soul, spirit, and body." At his own request she then read to him the 17th chapter of St. John's Gospel, where he told them he first cast anchor.

As night fell he seemed to sleep. The family assembled in his room for their ordinary evening prayers, and "were the longer because they thought he was resting" He moved as they ended. "Sir, heard ye the prayers?" said one. "I would to God,"
heard
with a
creeping over him, and death was at hand. Bannatyne, his secretary, sprang to his side.

"Now, sir," he said, "the time ye have long asked for—to wit, an end of your battle—is come; and, seeing all natural power fails, remember the promise which oftentimes ye have shown me of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and that we may understand ye hear us make us some sign."

The dying man gently raised his head, and "incontinent thereof, rendered up his spirit." [1]

"There lies one," said Morton, as, two days later, he stood to watch the coffin lowered into the grave,—"There lies one who never feared the face of mortal man." Morton spoke only of what he knew: the full measure of Knox's greatness neither he nor any man could then estimate. It is as we look back over that stormy time, and weigh the actors in it one against the other, that he stands out in his full proportions. No grander figure can be found, in the entire history of the Reformation in this island, than that of Knox. Cromwell and Burghley rank beside him for the work which they effected, but, as politicians and statesmen, they had to labour with instruments which they soiled their hands in touching. In purity, in uprightness, in courage, truth, and stainless honour, the Regent Murray and our English Latimer were perhaps his equals; but Murray was intellectually far below him, and the sphere of Latimer's influence was on a smaller scale. The time has come when English history may do justice to one but for whom the Reformation would have been overthrown among ourselves; for the spirit which Knox created saved Scotland; and if Scotland had been Catholic again, neither the wisdom of Elizabeth's ministers, nor the teaching of her bishops, nor her own chicaneries, would have preserved England from revolution. His was the voice which taught the peasant of the Lothians that he was a free man, the equal in the sight of God with the proudest peer or prelate that had trampled on his forefathers. He was the one antagonist whom Mary Stuart could not soften nor Maitland deceive; he it was that raised the poor commons of his country into a stern and rugged people, who might be hard, narrow, superstitious, and fanatical, but who, nevertheless, were men whom neither king, noble, nor priest could force again to submit to tyranny. And his reward has been the ingratitude of those who should most have done honour to his memory.

The change of times has brought with it the toleration which Knox denounced, and has established the compromises which Knox most feared and abhorred, and he has been described as a

[1] Narrative of Richard Bannatyne.

raving demagogue, an enemy of authority, a destroyer of holy things, a wild and furious bigot. But the Papists which [illegible]

[illegible]

men, or on the errors of their own leaders—then, indeed, their creed could be allowed to subside into a place among the *religiones licitæ* of the world. But the men who took from popery its power to oppress, alone made its presence again endurable; and only a sentimental ignorance or deliberate misrepresentation of the history of the sixteenth century can sustain the pretence that there was no true need of a harder and firmer hand.

The reaction when the work was done, a romantic sympathy with the Stuarts, and the shallow liberalism which calls itself historical [illegible]

f [illegible]

t [illegible]

yet but for him Mary Stuart would have bent Scotland to her purpose, and Scotland would have been the lever with which France and Spain would have worked on England But for Knox and Burghley—those two, but not one without the other—Elizabeth would have been hurled from her throne, or have gone back into the Egypt to which she was too often casting wistful eyes.

On the 1st of January the fighting began again. The castle guns fired upon the town; and the attempt to entangle Morton in the responsibilities of government, without committing the Queen of England, having broken down, she was obliged to

[illegible]

was thought that the recognition and the menac[illegible] sufficient, and that Maitland, when he found Eliza[illegible] would surrender.

Being supplied with funds to pay soliders, Mort[illegible]

to establish a close blockade. The castle guns did little harm. The garrison was short of water. The men had been provided in part from a well at the foot of the cliff; but Morton poisoned it, and they were reduced to the two springs inside the fortifications, which yielded but a scanty supply. There were in all inside the castle a hundred and ninety-two persons, of whom thirty-two were women and thirteen were boys. The Gordons, Hamiltons, Kerrs, Scots, Setons, were all away in their own counties, waiting for the turn of events. Grange, Maitland, Hume, Sir Robert Melville, and the Bishop of Dunkeld, held on at Edinburgh with as small a number of followers as were thought sufficient for the defence. Maitland was so ill that, "when the cannon were fired, he was carried down into the vaults below St. David's Tower, because he could not abide the shot."[1] If the rest of Scotland could be brought to terms—and the rest of Scotland was simply waiting to see what Elizabeth intended to do—there was nothing to lead any one to suppose that the castle would not follow the example. The noblemen were possessed with a belief, which Maitland had everywhere impressed upon them, that Elizabeth would grow weary of keeping Mary Stuart, and would, sooner or later, reinstate her. If they were again to be her subjects, their interest recommended them to adhere to her faction, to be friends with her friends, and to intrigue with the Spaniards and the French. If, on the other hand, this was not to be—if Elizabeth herself could be depended on, and the king was to be maintained—they were themselves tired of the struggle, and they were beginning to see that if the Queen of England was true to herself, there was now little chance of a successful Catholic revolution.

The recognition of James was the turning-point for which they were waiting. No sooner was it proclaimed than signs appeared everywhere that there would be no more resistance. Many difficult questions remained to be settled. Argyle and Huntly were compromised in the murder of Darnley, Chatelherault and his sons in the deaths of Murray and Lennox. Elizabeth advised that the prosecution in all these cases should be allowed to drop. Religion was a further difficulty. While the civil war lasted, the mass had been restored in the north and west. Several noblemen were still openly Catholics, and Eglinton, in the convention which was held for Morton's election to the regency, ventured to speak for toleration. In this matter, however, compromise was less possible. Morton said that the Catholics must submit to the

[1] Advices out of Scotland, February 10: *MSS. Scotland.*

fanaticism in France.[1]

A conference was afterwards held at Perth, at the "lodgings" of the English ambassador, who offered to mediate under Elizabeth's direction. Huntly and Arbroath were present, and at length, when they and the other professing Catholics agreed to swear "to withstand all those who should go about to put in execution the bloody decrees of the Council of Trent," the regent consented to accept the oath as a substitute for conformity, and they were left to use whatever service they pleased in their own houses.

These and other points of difference being thus disposed of, the heads of all the families who had hitherto held out for the queen, acknowledged their allegiance to her son and accepted Morton as lawful regent. The French had no longer a party among

maintained.

The fire was not extinguished, however, till the castle was

and letters telling them that they should be relieved if they could hold out till summer.[2]

Maitland was satisfied that the castle could never be taken by the Scots; that, however Elizabeth might threaten, she would

see deeply into the Queen of England's character, and that it was not without reason that he built hopes upon her reluctance to extinguish the remains of Mary Stuart's party

Immediately after the general pacification, Morton sent to

Grange to require him to submit with the rest, and to trouble Scotland no further. Grange answered (or Maitland, for Grange was clay in his hands) that he would acknowledge the king, if he might keep the castle; and that he would bind himself to introduce no foreign troops, if Elizabeth would undertake that "they should enjoy their lives, lands, rooms, offices, and honours," "and would give them money to pay their debts."[1]

Morton said that he would listen to no such conditions. "There could be no sound peace" while the castle was independent of his authority, nor could Grange, or Maitland, or any other subject of the Scotch, be permitted to make stipulations with the sovereign of another country.

The castle party persisted, declaring that if their proposals were refused they were "prepared for all extremities." The regent, therefore, requested that a force should be sent from England at once to bring them to reason; and neither he himself, nor Killigrew, nor the officers at Berwick, anticipated that Elizabeth would make further difficulty. At last she was supposed to be convinced that the thing must be done. Sir William Drury wrote to Burghley for instructions, intimating that the sooner the English troops moved forward the better. "The inconstancy of that nation was well known," and delay would be dangerous.[2] Morton, in talking over the state of the country with the English ambassador, confined himself to considering the measures which should be taken after the reduction of the castle, assuming, as a matter of course, that it was really to be reduced. Both he and Killigrew were under an impression still that Elizabeth would consider her assistance well repaid if she could be relieved of the Scottish queen.[3]

But Elizabeth, reassured by her treaty with Spain, was far away from the thoughts into which she had been frightened by the massacre in Paris, and was endeavouring, as usual, to forget the engagements into which she had been forced with Morton. She felt that the fall of the castle would be a final end of the schemes which she had so long fostered. She would not now give up the Queen of Scots to be executed, even if the Scots would consent to execute her. If the king's government were firmly

[1] Answer to Lidington and Grange, March 2: *MSS. Scotland.*
[2] Drury to Burghley, March 7: Ibid.
[3] Morton said that "as long as the Scotch queen lived there would be trouble, treason, and mischief." Killigrew answered "that he could help that." *Morton replied, "that when the castle was taken, at the next* Parliament to be holden he would prove the noblemen to see what might be done."—Killigrew to Burghley, March 4: Ibid.

and completely established; the last hope of a "composition" would be gone, and Mary Stuart would remain

be sent" The terms offered by the castle were reasonable, and the regent had no sufficient ground to reject them.

Sir Henry Killigrew simply dared not give these messages.

all dissimulation." "They were made only because they could not be granted." "Maitland, by his wit, enchanted Grange, saying that for all Lord Burghley's letters, her majesty would never send in her forces, but only boast them; and that for all Scotland could do they would keep the castle till France came in." These were Maitland's very words Killigrew had seen them in his own handwriting If the queen was really "resolved to stop her aid," he could only say, "God's will be done;" but, "if the castle was not recovered, and that with expedition, he

her tone. She bade Killigrew tell Morton that many heavy demands had been recently made upon her, she was in real difficulties, "and if he could spare her the additional expense, it would be thankfully taken."

To this Morton answered briefly that Lady Mar and the young

[1] Killigrew to Burghley, March 9: *MSS. Scotland*

which he might desire in exchange for the castle, but to no purpose—he insisted upon holding it.

Killigrew suggested that if Grange would give securities for his good behaviour, he might be allowed his way. "With this," wrote the ambassador, "the regent was amazed;" "he said that though he would be so mad yet the nobility would never grant thereunto; it was a thing not to be thought of, and he desired me not to ask it again; he was already in danger for yielding so far; to allow more would cause so much offence as would endanger the king's estate and his own life."[1]

Once more Errington was sent to the castle; every security was offered short of leaving Grange in possession of it, "everything," said Killigrew, "that I could ask for my own father if he were there;" but evasive answers came back which meant nothing, while Errington observed that the garrison had been busy on the fortifications; "the place was stronger by ten lasts of powder and a hundred men than when he had seen it before; the men looking ill from overworking and watching," but all seemingly resolute, with provisions to last till Michaelmas, and expecting help from France before midsummer.

Conscious at last that words would serve her no more, that if she faltered longer she would lose every friend that she possessed in Scotland—conscious, at all events, that if the French did come the consequences might be irreparable, Elizabeth now agreed to do what Sussex had urged upon her after the rebellion of Yorkshire, and which, had she done it then, would have saved Scotland all its misery. To this it had come at last; and the shuffling, and the falsehood, and the broken promises had been thrown away. A few plain words would have sufficed then to annihilate the hopes of the party of the Queen of Scots which Elizabeth herself had created and had kept alive by her uncertainty. She had encouraged them to take arms; she had led them to believe that in heart she was on the Queen of Scots' side; and in the end, after two regents had been murdered and her true friends brought to the edge of ruin, after having brought her own throne in danger, and imperilled the very Reformation itself, her diplomacy broke down, and she was obliged to trample out the sparks with her own feet which she and only she had kindled.

The necessary orders went down to Berwick. Heavy siege guns—"her majesty's peace-makers," as Sir Thomas Smith called them—were sent round to Leith. Drury, who was to

[1] Killigrew to Burghley, March 27: *MSS. Scotland.*

conduct the siege, went forward with a party of [illegible] to determine the position of the batteries, and five [illegible] labourers were set to work at the trenches.

Edinburgh Castle stands on the extreme end of a long [illegible] rock, which rising gradually for three quarters of a mile [illegible] in a broken area several acres in extent, [illegible] ascending slope by a narrow neck, and everywhere else [illegible] in precipices 200 feet deep. The ridge itself [illegible] west. The High Street of the Old Town follows the [illegible] crest, rising from Holyrood and the Canongate [illegible] *the parade ground* in front of the castle. At the [illegible] siege the defences extended beyond the present [illegible] jecting work then called the Spur, the [illegible] 200 feet of the opening of the street. [illegible] ordinary entrance from the town to the castle [illegible] circuitously upwards through a series of [illegible] passages to St. Margaret's Chapel and the [illegible] *summit, overhanging* the Lawn Market. [illegible] within the fortifications was a rude [illegible] fifths of the circuit being inaccessible [illegible]

ver the cliff, with a note inside it, to ask if there was hope for heir lives.

On the 17th of April the English army arrived from Berwick. On the 25th the siege guns were landed at Leith; and Killigrew, who had assured Burghley that Maitland "would not abide the cannon," "was at his wits' end," as he said, to comprehend his obstinacy. But the statesman who had long ruled supreme in Scottish counsels was now too proud to yield. He fed the garrison with hopes that the French fleet might be looked for any day in the Forth; and when Morton and Drury, for the last time, summoned the castle to surrender, Grange hung out Mary Stuart's banner on the rock from which Mons Meg looks down over Edinburgh, and Meg herself, and fifty other guns, replied for him with cannon-balls.

The hardness of the rock made the trenching a long operation. To save expense, too small a number of pioneers had been employed; and three weeks had still to pass before the English batteries were completed. Drury himself, and all his officers, handled spade and pickaxe. On the evening of the 11th of May, a volunteer arrived, in the person of Thomas Cecil, Lord Burghley's eldest son, who had come, as he said, without commission from his father, to learn to be a soldier.

On the 17th of May the guns in front of the Spur were in posi-
tion. Attempts had been made to frighten the English wit
stories of intended treachery. "The sky may fall, and we sha
catch larks," was the confident answer of Killigrew. Scots ar
Englishmen stood arm in arm together, intending only "to ra
which should be foremost when it came to the assault." (
the 20th the four remaining batteries were ready. On the 2
they opened fire; and as the shot told and the stones began
fly, and Meg, though she could throw a granite ball into
Forth, could not silence Drury's artillery, a long wild wai
despair was heard to rise behind the battlements. First
bastion fell above St. Cuthbert's Church, and then Dav
Tower fell carrying the red standard among its ruins. D
on all sides came bulwark and turret, guns, platforms, carri
rushing amidst dust clouds over the cliffs. The college stu
had heard Knox say that the walls at the end would be as s
and now, "gaeing up to watch the firing, they saw the
rinning like a sandy brae."[1]

The supply of water was cut short after the first day's

[1] Diary of James Melville.

One precious well was choked with rubbish, another was commanded by the fire; and the men were reduced to an allowance of a pint a day. A messenger from France attempted to enter, who had been sent to encourage the defenders to hold out; but "he was caught and hanged for his pains." The bombardment continued for five days, and in that time three thousand balls were thrown into the castle—a feat till then unapproached in the practice of artillery. On the 27th a flag of truce was hung out, and Sir Robert Melville came down to "parley." He tried to create a jealousy by desiring to treat alone with the English, but Drury refused to take part in any conference from which the regent was excluded. Melville then demanded security that the lives and properties of every one in the castle should be safe. Lord Hume and Maitland required permission to reside in England, and Grange either to remain in Scotland or go abroad, as he pleased. The Countess of Argyle, the earl's divorced wife, who had taken refuge with them, stipulated also that "she might not be delivered into her husband's hands"

Morton at once declined to consent to any such terms. At dawn next mornin
castle, while two
carried the Spur.
the hero of Dumbarton The loss was heavy for the numbers engaged. Twenty English and Scots were killed at the Spur, and eight more on the precipices behind, but the work was done—done more effectively than Drury knew at the time, for the [illegible]

wearied, having no time to take rest"[1] "Some were no soldiers, and had come in for friendship," and some had no sympathy with the cause for which they were fighting. Nothing remained but to accept whatever conditions Morton would grant. A flag of truce again appeared Grange and Melville were lowered down by cords over the inner wall, and, putting a bold face on their position, re-demanded what Melville had asked the day before Both they and Maitland might then have obtained their lives. Now the regent was ready to let the garrison go where they pleased, taking their own property with them, but he insisted that Grange, Maitland, Melville, Hume, and four

[1] Causes of the surrender of the Castle, May 28 *MSS. Scotland.*

others, should surrender unconditionally,[1] to be dealt with as the Queen of England should advise.

They were allowed till nine o'clock in the evening to consider. Grange was a soldier, and preferred to die sword in hand; and the others who were excepted in the pardon expected no mercy and desired to fight to the last. But the men had no wish to sacrifice their own lives. They had long loved Grange, but they hated Maitland as the cause of all their troubles, and threatened to hang him over the walls. Then all was over. Before sunset Edinburgh Castle was in the hands of the regent, and Mary Stuart's cause was extinguished in Scotland for ever.[2]

So strange had been the revolutions of parties, that the last maintainers of that cause were men who had long stood at Murray's side, and had long been the keenest promoters of the Reformation and the English alliance. Grange had begun his public life on the memorable morning at St. Andrew's when wild justice was done upon the cardinal. Maitland had been Cecil's pupil, the adviser of the marriage between Elizabeth and Arran, which would have dispossessed his mistress of her throne; and Hume did more than any one to help Murray to win the battle of Langside.

But Maitland, who looked on God as a "nursery bogle," and among his splendid qualities wanted faith in all great principles, had spun a diplomatic net about himself which at last was too strong for him to break; and Hume and Grange, pursuing the will-of-the-wisp of Scottish patriotism, followed him to their own ruin in a blind belief in his infallibility.

It was over at last—over in shame and disgrace. In consideration of his illness and of Elizabeth's known regard for him, Killigrew intended to have received Maitland as his own guest; but the rage of the people against him when he was brought down out of the castle was so violent that he was in danger of being torn in pieces, and he was sent for his own safety under a strong guard to Drury's quarters at Leith.[3] His fate and that of the others were referred to Elizabeth's consideration; but a letter from Alva was found in the castle which showed how deeply they had been implicated in the late conspiracies, and, in forwarding it to Burghley, Killigrew was unable to advise that either he or Grange or Hume should be spared. Maitland had burnt the

[1] Conditions offered by the Regent, May 28: *MSS. Scotland.*

[2] The account of the siege is taken from the despatches of Drury and Killigrew in the Scotch and Border MSS.

[3] Drury to Cecil, June 1.

resistance of the castle. "The Edinburgh ministers preached

And Killigrew's own opinion was "that they were fitter for God than for the world." [1]

Elizabeth, who could never bring herself without reluctance

dom;" but since the fate of the prisoners was referred to her, she said she must have particulars in writing of the quantity and quality of the charges against them;" and she desired Killigrew to see them "lodged" meanwhile "where they should be in no danger of murder from their mortal enemies" [2] She commended Lady Argyle to the care of Morton. She was "loath," as she said, "to interfere between husband and wife," but she feared if the countess was carried off to Inverary she might come to a hard end there. Elizabeth intended clearly to save them all if she could; but before her letters reached Scotland one, at least, was beyond the reach of her protection or of Morton's vengeance. Eleven days after the surrender Maitland died, and it was generally believed that, to save himself from the ignominy of the scaffold, he had taken poison [3] He was constitutionally more likely than any of his contemporaries to have taken refuge in a Roman death, but although the particular letter in which Sir William Drury describes his end is not preserved,[4] yet Killigrew mentioned it two days after in a tone in which he would hardly have spoken of something so unusual as suicide, and the popular rumour was probably unfounded.

towards him since he came out of the castle, in such sort as

[1] Killigrew to Burghley, June 5. *MSS Conway*
[2] Elizabeth to Killigrew, June 8. Elizabeth to Morton, June 9. *MSS Conway.*
[3] Memoirs of Sir James Melville
[4] Killigrew says, in a letter of the 13th of June to Sir T. Smith, "*Of Lidington's death my lord general did advertise*"—*Ibid.*

William Drury was forced to keep a strong guard to save him in his own lodging from the fury of the people." [1]

His companions remained in confinement at Holyrood in Morton's sole charge. The English guns were re-shipped; the shot were gathered up again; a bawbee being paid for every bullet which was brought in.[2] Sir William Drury led back his troops to Berwick, and Killigrew carried to London an intimation that Morton was ready now to undertake the dispatch of Mary Stuart.[3]

Mr. Thomas Cecil, after his lesson in the wars, went back to the great house at Burghley;[4] and "religion" in Scotland began to prosper marvellously. The long fever of uncertainty was past. The few recusant Papists came in, and made their peace; and it remained only for justice to be executed upon one who, next to Maitland, was responsible for all the blood that had been shed. The letters found in the castle, when Elizabeth saw them, deprived her of an excuse for interfering; Morton told Burghley that "the future quiet of Scotland depended on her consent;"

[1] Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury, June 14.—*Illustrations of English History*, vol. ii.

[2] Dury to Burghley, June 5: *MSS. Scotland.*

[3] "I shall bring with me some articles touching the league, and I hope somewhat touching the great matter whereof I thought good to forewarn your honour."—Killigrew to Burghley, June 26.

"I have thought good to put in memory how the ground of the trouble remains in her majesty's hands and power, whereunto I doubt not but her highness will put order when she finds time; and thereanent I must leave to be further curious till I receive knowledge of her majesty's pleasure."

On the margin opposite this passage there stands, in Burghley's hand, "The removing of the Bosom Serpent."—Morton to Burghley, June 26: *MSS. Scotland.*

[4] A fact memorable only as having furnished occasion for the steward there to write a letter to Lord Burghley, in which we catch a glimpse worth observing of old Mrs. Cecil:—

"My duty to your Honour,—Yesternight, about three of the clock, Mr. Thomas Cecil came home well and merry, God be thanked; and my mistress, your mother, was come to Burghley two hours before him. The gown that you would make it must be for every day; and yet because it comes from you, except you write her to the contrary, she will make it her holiday gown, whereof she hath great store already, both of silk and cloth. But I think, sir, if you make her one of cloth with some velvet upon it, with your letters to desire her for your sake to wear it daily, she would accustom herself with it, so as she would forget to go any longer in such base apparel as she hath used to have a delight in, which is too mean for one of a lower state than she is of. She likes well of all things as yet; but for that there is not one that is in the ministry to do service daily there, which she much desires, that she may serve God twice a day; you may have at your pleasure from Cambridge some one that, from lack of exhibition, would be glad for a year or two to do service there daily, which would much content her."—Peter Kemp to Lord Burghley, June 7: *MSS. Hatfield.*